

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Inauguration Day protests set

## Demonstrate Jan. 20-- demand U.S. Out Now!

— page 4



Hanoi scene of destruction caused by U.S. bombers. Nixon's B-52s attacked population centers of North Vietnam with indiscriminate 'carpet bombing.' See page 3.

**Puerto Rico and the U.S./<sup>18</sup>**  
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## THE MILITANT

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**ANTIWAR ACTIVIST WINS CASE ON U.S. AID:** A three-judge federal panel in Chicago recently ruled invalid a law barring federal scholarship funds to students convicted of "serious" crimes that "contributed to a substantial disruption of the administration" of their school.

The law was passed by Congress in the wake of the student protests of the 1960s. Under it Jeanne Rasche Deloff, a student at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus, was deprived of a National Defense Education Act loan and forced to drop out of school. She had been convicted of criminal trespass as a result of a demonstration in May 1970 protesting the invasion of Cambodia and the murders at Kent State.

The court, in a 2-to-1 decision, held that the law was unconstitutional because the statute's definition of a "serious" crime was vague and "overbroad."

## Victory in Starsky case

LOS ANGELES—A federal judge has ordered Arizona State University to reinstate Dr. Morris Starsky, a socialist and antiwar activist dismissed from the ASU philosophy department in 1970.

Starsky had been denied renewal of his contract on grounds of alleged professional misconduct and infraction of rules.

In a 64-page ruling handed down Dec. 26, U. S. Judge Carl Muecke declared:

"Looking at the evidence as a whole insofar as it reflects the sum substance of six years as a member of the faculty, an acknowledged and respected teacher and scholar, and a man with national visibility; and after carefully studying all the evidence . . . this Court must conclude that the primary reason for the discipline of Professor Starsky is grounded in his exercise of his First Amendment rights in expressing unpopular views."

In ordering Starsky reinstated, the judge said he will now weigh Starsky's claim for damages to compensate for his illegal dismissal. University officials have not yet stated whether they will seek to appeal the decision.

A full report on this important victory for civil liberties and academic freedom will be carried in a future issue of *The Militant*.



Morris Starsky

Militant/Walter Lippmann

**THE CASE OF FRED QUILT:** On an isolated, snow-covered gravel road in British Columbia in November 1971, a 25-year-old constable in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police stomped and kicked a 55-year-old Chilcotin Indian, severing his small intestine. After suffering the agony of his internal injury for two days, Fred Quilt died.

One inquest called Quilt's death an accident. A second refused to attribute blame for Quilt's death to Daryl Bawell, the Mountie who stomped him.

The story of the entire case is told in a thorough piece of investigative reporting by Tim Cahill in the current (Jan. 4) issue of *Rolling Stone* magazine: "Death on Chilcotin Road."

**ACADEMIC FREEDOM AT HARVARD:** On the heels of the victory of Dr. Morris Starsky reported above, another case of political victimization of radical professors has come to light, this one at Harvard University. The economics department there has fired Arthur MacEwan and Samuel Bowles, both of whom consider themselves Marxists. Professor Stephen Marglin, also of Harvard, charged that "a clear pattern of selectivity with politics involved, has been at play."

Professor James Duesenberry, chairman of Harvard's economics department, defended the action in an interview with Richard Weintraub in the Jan. 3 *Washington Post*. Duesenberry complained that the charges of political

motivation in the firings were "very unfair considering the nature of our department. It's hard to find anyone whom you would consider a reactionary; it doesn't have anyone on either end. I don't know whether that's good or bad."

Duesenberry may not know how good it is, but apparently he intends to keep it that way.

**WARDEN AND 10 OTHERS ACCUSED OF BRUTALITY:** Prisoners at the Queens House of Detention in New York City have won an important victory. As a result of a civil suit they filed in November 1970, a special prosecutor charged on Jan. 2 that "there is sufficient available legal evidence against five correction officers, four captains, an assistant deputy warden, and a warden to warrant various charges against each of them for violation of department rules forbidding the use of unnecessary force against inmates, prohibiting the purposeful harassment and demeaning of inmates."

The charges stem from a rebellion in the prison in October 1970. Although no criminal charges are expected to be lodged (departmental trials will be held), this is a far cry from the original disposition of the case. In July 1971 U.S. Magistrate Vincent Catogio had said that the prisoners' charges constituted "a gigantic hoax and fraud."

This finding was rejected by Judge Orrin Judd, who ordered the appointment of the special prosecutor. Although the prosecutor claimed that only a small part of the total prison staff had mistreated the prisoners, he admitted that most guards refused to cooperate with his investigation.

**YOU CAN'T ARGUE WITH LOGIC:** The number of complaints private citizens filed against New York City policemen during 1972 reached a record 3,700, triple the figure of five years ago. Most of the complaints charge police with using unnecessary force, with abusing their authority, or with making ethnic slurs.

The increase in the number of complaints, says the executive director of the police department's Civilian Complaint Review Board, reflects the public's confidence in the board's impartiality.

Those of you who would have thought that the figures reflect a rise in police brutality, or in people's willingness to report such brutality, can relax. The proportion of cases in which the board has recommended departmental charges against the cops involved was down to 2.5 percent, a new low.

**LAW PROFS DENOUNCE WITCH-HUNTING COMMITTEE:** The abolition of the House Committee on Internal Security was demanded by 365 professors from 94 law schools on Dec. 28. The professors, including the deans of 13 law schools, signed a petition to the Ninety-third Congress charging that "the operations of any committee of this nature run counter to the basic principles of American democracy."

They maintained that the principle function of the committee "has been to probe and expose the beliefs, opinions, and associations of American citizens," and that "the very design of the committee, and the inevitable manner of its functioning, bring it directly into conflict with the constitutional guarantee of free and open discussion."

## City-wide forum in N.Y.

"WHERE DOES THE VIETNAM WAR STAND? How to End It: Sign Now or Out Now?" A talk by Barry Sheppard, national organizational secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Friday, Jan. 12, 8 p.m., at New York University, Room 121 Meyer Building (corner of Broadway and Washington Place). Donation: \$1. Sponsored by West Side Militant Forum, Lower Manhattan Militant Labor Forum, and Brooklyn Militant Forum. See "What's Wrong with 'Sign Now'?—An answer to the Guardian on Vietnam," page 10.

**'THE ROLE OF THE ALTERNATIVE PRESS':** That was the topic discussed by four panelists at the Militant Labor Forum in Los Angeles on Dec. 15. More than 100 people came to hear Harry Ring of the Southwest Bureau of *The Militant*; Art Kunin, editor of the *Los Angeles Free Press*; Michael Letwin, staff member of the *Red Tide*, a newspaper produced by high school students; and Patty Lee Parmalee, from the Southern California Bureau of the *Guardian*. In addition to discussing the alternative press in general, the panelists explained the role of their particular publications.

—DAVE FRANKEL

## Nixon orders temporary limit on air war

# Int'l outcry against bombing of N. Vietnam



B-52s on Guam, ready to participate in assaults on population centers of Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

JAN. 2 — Faced with an unprecedented world outcry against U.S. war policies and the threat of a new upsurge of protest in the United States, President Nixon suspended at least temporarily the genocidal bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong opened Dec. 18. "... the criticism round the world today appears to equal or surpass in emphasis anything the United States has endured before and even includes what seems to be veiled disapproval from the Vatican," declared the *Christian Science Monitor's* front page Dec. 30.

The same day the White House announced cessation of the bombing north of the twentieth parallel and the reopening of secret talks in Paris scheduled for Jan. 8.

Conspicuously lacking, as U.S. bombs reduced civilian centers of Hanoi and Haiphong to rubble, was a meaningful response by Moscow or Peking. The two supposed allies of North Vietnam once again contented themselves with "serious criticisms."

On Jan. 2, the *Wall Street Journal* could speculate that "North Vietnam's major suppliers, the Soviet Union and China, have told it to sign soon even if more concessions are needed. The two Communist giants both find their own relations with the U.S. damaged by the war and may also be tired of subsidizing the long conflict."

But Washington's latest bombing emphasizes more than ever before the only concession that will satisfy the U.S. warmakers: defeat of the revolution in South Vietnam. Nixon's goal is the same one that propelled John F. Kennedy to order the napalm bombing of Vietnamese peasant villages a decade ago. That goal is to stabilize a proimperialist regime in Saigon.

It is Saigon's "sovereignty" that Nixon and Kissinger want Hanoi to guarantee in the secret talks. The White House demonstrated in the last two weeks that so long as there are U.S. military forces in Southeast Asia they can be used at a moment's notice to back up this demand with bombs.

### Civilian targets

As hundreds of North Vietnamese civilians were killed or wounded each day that U.S. bombs fell on Hanoi and Haiphong, the Pentagon reached new heights of cynicism in its attempt to deny the genocidal character of the U.S. attack.

For example, Hanoi reported that American air raids on Dec. 20 and 21 had wounded U.S. POWs in a prison camp. A Pentagon spokesman told the Associated Press that if the report was true, Hanoi was violating the Geneva Convention by keeping prisoners of war "in an area particularly exposed to the dangers of war."

*Washington Post* columnist Nicho-

las von Hoffman retorted, "Maybe, someday, somebody in the Pentagon will actually step toward a mike in a briefing room and say we had to kill our own prisoners of war in order to liberate them."

Von Hoffman's bitterness typified domestic and international reaction to the White House duplicity. This time there were few believers of the administration line that only military installations were targeted. On Dec. 27, Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim denied that civilians were being bombed and characterized as "propaganda" Hanoi's "reports that Bach Mai Hospital, for example, had been damaged."

From Hanoi itself, Agence France-Presse answered Friedheim Dec. 29. "The fact is that Bach Mai, a 900-bed hospital where 300 people were undergoing treatment at the outset of the resumed raids on the city, was not only 'damaged,' but literally razed by several large bombs," said AFP.

The French news agency continued, "Foreign diplomats and journalists here, including the correspondent of Agence France-Presse, visited its ruins."

"As they walked between giant craters and between piles of stone from which bodies of young nurses were still being extricated, 'propaganda' was furthest from their minds."

Michael Allen, associate dean of the Yale University Divinity School, was with three other Americans, including Joan Baez, who gave eyewitness reports of the bombing of civilians. "The most horrible scene I've ever seen in my life," Dean Allen said, "was when we visited the residential area of Khan Thien and as far as I could see, everything was destroyed."

"Smoke was coming up from the rubble, and then I saw an old woman digging with her hands, and she was chanting out loud, 'My son, my son, where are you?'"

The essence of the White House intentions was summed up by the *New York Post* Dec. 27. "One ranking source told the Chicago Daily News last week the bombing was designed to obliterate North Vietnam's ability to function as a state," the *Post* reported.

### U.S. condemned

To what extent this massive bombing pressured Hanoi to resume the secret talks is impossible to determine at this time. However, it is clear that immense pressure was also building up on the Nixon administration to stop the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

"... protests intensified around the world," said the *Washington Post*, Dec. 30. "The displays of indignation frequently escalated into anti-American actions."

"Leaders of nations allied with the United States are facing rising public

demands to denounce American policy and to bring open pressure on the Nixon administration to halt the bombings."

The *New York Times* declared in an editorial Jan. 1, "North Vietnam has undoubtedly suffered cruelly from the most intensive aerial bombardment in history, but the United States has also paid a terrible price for this crude attempt to negotiate through terror. Losses in aircraft and men were staggering. ... But the still larger loss for the long run is in credibility

## Some B-52 fliers refuse to bomb

The worldwide outrage at Nixon's bombing policy has apparently been reflected even among the "elite" B-52 crews stationed on Guam. Three-fourths of the B-52s available for missions in Southeast Asia operate from Andersen Air Force Base on the northern coast of Guam.

Richard Halloran, writing in the Dec. 30 *New York Times*, quotes a ground crewman as saying, "The flight crews are different now. Before, when they came back, they were always clowning around. Now they're shaken. They just get out of the plane and into the bus and go to the debriefing."

According to the *Times* account, several fliers have refused to go up. The Air Force has denied that there have been resignations, "but several islanders say they have friends among the crews who have found ways to get out of the dangerous missions. They say the Air Force prefers to send them home quietly rather than make a public issue of it."

"There are also reports here," the dispatch continues, "that members of flight crews have deliberately caused some of the complicated electronic machinery aboard a bomber to break down and thus cancel a mission. Some have reportedly neglected to arm the bombs so that they would not explode after they were dropped."

The Dec. 30 *Times* also reported that a group of antiwar activists on the island have been "harassing" Navy trucks carrying the bombs through Guam by driving cars slowly in front of the trucks on the way to the ammunition dump.

"A young Navy petty officer in civilian clothes was arrested this week for that," the *Times* reports. "Before being handcuffed and taken away by the shore patrol, he was asked whether he belonged to an antiwar group. 'No,' he said, 'I just don't like bombs.'"

and respect at home and abroad."

The *Times* editorial cited Nobel Prize winning U.S. physicist, Dr. Leon Cooper, whose conversations in Europe convinced him that "we are coming to be regarded in the eyes of the world as Twentieth-century Huns." "Similar expressions of outrage and condemnation have echoed throughout the globe, from official as well as unofficial sources, among them many long-time friends of this country," said the *Times*.

Parallel to the international criticism were mounting efforts in the U.S. Congress to bring pressure on the White House. Most quoted was the previously pro-Nixon Ohio Republican Senator William Saxbe who said the president "appears to have lost his senses on this" and called for Congress to stop funding the war unless the bombing is halted.

The *Wall Street Journal* remarked on Jan. 2, "The raids that ended last weekend subjected Mr. Nixon to much criticism at home and abroad, per-

haps ruling out renewed raids if the President isn't happy with the peace talks."

The speculation testifies to the immense potential strength of the national and international antiwar movement. Although Washington has temporarily halted the bombing above the twentieth parallel, it is subjecting the remainder of Vietnam, North and South, to continued bombing at peak war levels. Nixon's goal remains to impose the capitalist regime of Saigon on the South Vietnamese people. The secret talks between Hanoi and Washington are being conducted under the imminent threat that the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong will be resumed.

These factors point to urgent tasks facing the antiwar movement. It is necessary to transform the anger of the world's populace against Washington into an active force to get Washington out of Southeast Asia. The events of the last two weeks underscore how meaningless any "peace" in Southeast Asia will be that does not include the total withdrawal of the U.S. military armada.

All the more treacherous in this context is Moscow and Peking's continued refusal to provide a meaningful defense of Vietnam. As the huge U.S. bomber fleet pounded the Hanoi-Hai-

phong area for nearly two weeks, the North Vietnamese military was forced to fire anti-aircraft missiles at random at the B-52s because Hanoi lacks missiles capable of pinpointing these bombers. But B-52s were made in the 1950s. The Soviet Union has long had sufficient missile technology to halt them.

The point was indirectly admitted by *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett in the Jan. 3 issue of the pro-Peking newspaper. "If they [B-52s] can be knocked out in such numbers by the relatively antiquated SAM-2s, how will they fare against SAM-3s and SAM-4s?" Burchett asked.

The entire world is aware that the Soviet Union is withholding from Hanoi these more advanced missiles. Given the overwhelming sympathy with the Vietnamese in the face of Nixon's horrendous bombing, the masses of people throughout the world would greet with approval a Soviet move to provide modern SAM missiles and

*Continued on page 22*



# U.S. antiwar forces mobilize for Jan. 20 mass actions in Washington, other cities

By CINDY JAQUITH

JAN. 2 — In the wake of Nixon's massive terror bombing of North Vietnam, U.S. antiwar forces are organizing united mass demonstrations on Jan. 20 in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and many other antiwar groups and individuals have called for the Inauguration Day protests.

"absolutely essential to build the largest possible antiwar demonstration."

Gordon said that the demands "End the War Now!" "End the Bombing Now!" have been agreed to by both NPAC and PCPJ representatives as the two slogans for the Jan. 20 march in D.C. "We have agreed to officially designate the demonstration as a 'March Against Death and for Peace in Vietnam,'" he continued.

diated halt to the bombing and for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia was submitted to the Chicago city council by the Chicago Peace Action Coalition on Dec. 29.

Twenty-seven aldermen had endorsed the resolution, which was presented by Alderman Dick Simpson. The city council, with Mayor Richard Daley's apparent support, eventually adopted a statement calling for an immediate halt to the bombing and for Nixon to return to the negotiating table.

Labor for Peace issued a statement on Dec. 23 condemning the bombing and urging Nixon to sign the treaty. Signers of the statement included Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers; Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Teamsters; Pat Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers; and David Livingston, secretary-treasurer of the Distributive Workers of America.

Several labor leaders held a Jan. 2 news conference in Cleveland, where they denounced Nixon's peace promises as a "hoax" and urged Congress to take action to end the war. The speakers included Bill Casstevens, director of Region 2 of the United Auto Workers; Frank Valenta, president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO; and Sam Janis, vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Antiwar demonstrations, picketlines, and vigils took place in many cities and towns during the Christmas holidays. Most were called on extremely short notice.

On Dec. 29 Dean Sayre of the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., led a peace walk of 1,000 to the White House. An antiwar march of 2,000 in Palo Alto, Calif., was led by the city's mayor, Kirke Comstock, on Christmas Eve. Fifteen hundred demonstrated in New York's Times Square on Dec. 21 and 900 in Rochester, N.Y., on Dec. 23.

A Christmas Day action in D.C., called by the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition, involved between

500 and 700 participants. Five hundred people joined a picket line called on Dec. 23 by the Seattle Peace Action Coalition, and another 500 turned out for a Dec. 30 demonstration in San Diego called by Operation Peace on Earth, an ad hoc committee of antiwar activists.

On New Year's Day several hundred protesters marched to the Cambridge, Mass., home of Congressman Thomas O'Neill Jr. to present a list of demands for Congress.

Protests also occurred in Detroit; St. Louis; Cleveland; Los Angeles; San Francisco; Andover, Mass.; Hartford, Conn.; Rochester, Minn.; Key Biscayne, Fla.; and other cities.

Demonstrations and other actions are planned in some areas before Jan. 20. A meeting Dec. 27 of 225 people in Los Angeles, called by Citizens for Peace, voted to organize a Jan. 7 city-wide demonstration around the slogans "Stop the Bombing," "Sign the Treaty," and "Release the Political Prisoners." Citizens for Peace includes the Indochina Peace Campaign and the L.A. Peace Action Council. The L.A. Peace Action Coalition and the L.A. SMC are organizing an "Out Now" contingent for the demonstration.

A Jan. 5 antiwar rally has been called in Houston by the Houston Peace Action Coalition and the Houston Committee to End the War. At the rally, participants will discuss building a local Jan. 20 action.

In San Diego, the Concerned Military and other groups have called for a Jan. 4 protest against the sailing of the aircraft carrier *Constellation*, scheduled to return to Vietnam.

Teach-ins on the war are slated at Northwestern University and the University of Illinois, Circle Campus, in Chicago on Jan. 11 and 12, initiated by the SMC.

For further information on the Jan. 20 demonstrations, contact the national office of NPAC and the SMC national office at 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Room 1122, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 293-3855. The New York NPAC office is at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 691-3270.



Antiwar protesters in New York's Times Square Dec. 21

Militant/Mark Satinoff

At a Dec. 28 news conference in New York, NPAC released the names of many prominent figures who have endorsed the Jan. 20 demonstration. These include: five members of Congress, Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), John Conyers (D-Mich.), Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.), Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), and Donald Riegle (R-Mich.); Fred Branfman, Project Air War; Noam Chomsky; and Minnie Lee Gartley, mother of released POW Mark Gartley.

Also, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Denver Crusade for Justice; Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFS-CME); Victor Gotbaum, executive director, District 37 of AFSCME; Sidney Lens, Chicago Peace Council; and Bobby Seale, chairman, Black Panther Party.

In a widely-covered statement to the press on Dec. 30, NPAC national coordinator Jerry Gordon said that although Nixon has announced a halt in the bombing of Hanoi, the Jan. 20 actions would go ahead as planned.

"No one should give any credence to Nixon's shabby pretense of seeking peace," he warned. "Now more than ever masses of Americans must act decisively to force the U.S. government to stop the killing once and for all."

Discussions are taking place between NPAC and representatives of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) on the need for the two coalitions to jointly build these demonstrations.

Gordon told *The Militant* tonight that NPAC was "optimistic that these discussions will result in agreement to forge a united action." He said a united front of all antiwar forces was

"It's also understood and should be emphasized that each coalition is free to build the action in its own way and with its own demands," Gordon explained. The PCPJ forces, he said, "are going to build it on the basis of 'Sign the Agreement' and we on the basis of 'Out Now.'"

In addition to Washington, D.C., protests are scheduled in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, San Diego, Denver, and St. Paul, Minn., and antiwar groups in other cities are discussing the possibility of local actions. The St. Paul demonstration has been endorsed by Minnesota Governor Wendell Anderson; Lieutenant Governor Rudy Perpich, Senator Walter Mondale, and Congressman Don Fraser.

The Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) is planning to call for Jan. 19 actions on campuses and in high schools as a buildup to the Jan. 20 protests.

The response in local areas to the call for Jan. 20 actions is indicative of the potential for these demonstrations. Three hundred fifty people—including many veteran peace activists—turned out for a meeting called by NPAC in New York on Dec. 27. The gathering voted by a large majority to organize as many people as possible to go to Washington, D.C., for the Jan. 20 actions.

The Greater Boston Peace Action Coalition held a news conference Dec. 29 to announce support for the Jan. 20 march. Boston Mayor Kevin White sent a message to the news conference denouncing the bombing and statements were presented by Harvard professor Samuel Popkin, several state legislators, trade unionists, and antiwar activists.

A resolution calling for an imme-



National Peace Action Coalition coordinator Jerry Gordon addresses New York planning meeting for Jan. 20 march on Washington, D.C.

Militant/Flax Hermes



# Nixon's atrocities protested around world

By CAROLINE LUND

"Things should be called by their proper name," stated Swedish Premier Olof Palme on Dec. 23 in regard to Nixon's bombing of North Vietnam. "What happens today in Vietnam is a form of torture. . . . What is being done is that people are being tormented, that a nation is being tormented, to humiliate them to force them to submit to the language of force. That is why the bombings are an outrage.

"There are many of this kind in modern history. They are often connected with names—Guernica, Oradour, Babi Yar, Katyn, Lidice, Sharpeville, Treblinka. . . . Now there is one more name to add to the list—Hanoi, Christmas, 1972."

The Swedish premier's statement likening Nixon's bombing campaign to Nazi massacres in World War II was only one of a series of unprecedented protests from political figures around the world. Criticism of the bombing came even from politicians like British Labour Party leader Harold Wilson, who is notorious for his groveling support to U.S. war policies in the past.

Although massive popular demonstrations have not as yet occurred on

the scale of the international antiwar actions of the late 1960s, the extent of protest from political figures is a reflection of the deep revulsion against the war felt by masses of people throughout the world.

The following is a roundup of some of the international protest actions *The Militant* has learned of so far.

● In Bangladesh, students demonstrated Jan. 1 against U.S. bombing of North Vietnam in front of the U.S. Information Service in Dacca. Two students were killed when police opened fire. In response, workers and shopkeepers in Dacca carried out a half-day general strike the following day. According to the Jan. 3 *Washington Post* account, the original antiwar demonstration "began on a wholly anti-American note," but "it quickly turned against the prime minister [Sheikh Mujibur Rahman]" after police opened fire. An earlier demonstration was reported in Rajshahi, about 100 miles from Dacca.

● Demonstrations were also reported to have occurred in Wellington, New Zealand; Vienna, Austria; and Singapore, Malaysia.

● In addition to issuing his statement condemning the bombings, Swedish Premier Palme has joined



Japanese woman leafletting in Tokyo in protest of bombing

with representatives of four opposition parties in Sweden to launch a campaign for two million signatures on a petition demanding a halt to the bombing. Nixon responded to these protests by telling the Swedish government it could forget about sending a new ambassador to the U.S. Palme answered this move by challenging Nixon to a public debate.

In Norway all political parties have agreed to take part in a conference on Vietnam the first week of January.

● In addition to the Swedish government, the governments of Italy and the Netherlands have also officially condemned the bombing.

● In Great Britain, top Labour Party leaders have in the past raised no protest against the Vietnam war. But in response to the latest bombings even right wing Labour leaders, such as Harold Wilson and Roy Jenkins, felt constrained to speak out.

Jenkins sent an open letter to Prime Minister Edward Heath Dec. 28 urging him to condemn the bombing. In the letter, Jenkins characterized the bombing as "a wave of terror using the massive resources of the most advanced technological country against a small but stubborn part of the backward world."

On Dec. 25 an AP dispatch reported that 200 members of parliament, act-

ors, church leaders, and trade unionists held a silent picket line outside the U.S. embassy in London to protest the recent bombings.

● In West Germany the Social Democratic Party government refused to officially condemn the bombing raids, but six prominent members of the party accused the U.S. of attacking cities, schools, and hospitals in Vietnam. They compared the raids to Nazi bombing of civilians in the Spanish civil war. Several hundred West Germans marched against the bombing in Berlin on Dec. 25.

● Carrying banners saying, "Today Vietnam, Tomorrow Us," protesters in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, threw red paint on the U.S. consulate in that city during demonstrations held Dec. 26 and 27. Yugoslav President Tito, who has previously kept silent on the war, called the bombing campaign a crime against mankind.

● An Associated Press photo in the Dec. 21 *New York Times* showed a demonstration of workers at a steel mill in Warsaw, Poland.

Despite the horror of the genocidal bombing campaign and the worldwide revulsion it brought forth, the bureaucratic regimes in Moscow and Peking have so far made no decisive response. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai

*Continued on page 22*

## Dockers boycott U.S. ships

In the midst of the international reaction to Nixon's unprecedented bombing policy, there were indications that large numbers of working people were ready to take action if trade-union leaders or the leaders of the mass Communist and social democratic parties in Europe had called for protest demonstrations.

For example, in Western Europe the first popular protest against the recent bombing was the decision of longshoremen in Genoa, Italy, to boycott all U.S. ships stopping in that port.

The workers voted for the boycott without the approval of their official trade-union leadership, reported a Dec. 29 Associated Press

dispatch from London. Danish dock workers proposed to join in the boycott, reported the Dec. 30 *Washington Post*, and unionists were considering the possibility of a coordinated boycott of U.S. goods throughout Europe.

On Dec. 28 the Seamen's Union of Australia likewise voted to boycott U.S. ships in all Australian ports. The following day two more Australian maritime unions decided to join the boycott until Nixon stopped the bombing.

In addition, the four main labor unions in Finland demanded a halt to the bombing; one of them declared its willingness to boycott U.S. goods.

## House Democrats step up war criticism

## Scientists, church leaders protest bombing

Despite the fact that Nixon chose the Christmas holiday period for his massive bombing assault on North Vietnam, his action evoked immediate, widescale protests. An outcry was raised from such diverse groups as religious figures, members of Congress, scientists, and other professional people, many of whom had never taken part in antiwar action before.

Although the protests succeeded in forcing Nixon to call a temporary halt to the bombing, distrust of Nixon and opposition to his policies continued to deepen.

On Jan. 2, the day before the opening of the Ninety-third Congress, the House Democratic Caucus voted 154 to 75 that "no further funds be authorized, appropriated or expended for U.S. military combat operations in or over Indochina and that such operations be terminated immediately subject only to arrangements necessary to insure the safe withdrawal of American troops, and the return of American prisoners of war."

This resolution, which is the strongest that House Democrats have ever managed to come up with, will now be introduced in the House of Representatives.

On the same day Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Sen-

ate Foreign Relations Committee, stated that if a Vietnam settlement were not negotiated by inauguration day (Jan. 20), his committee would immediately draft legislation to end the war.

Fulbright has also requested that presidential adviser Henry Kissinger appear before the Foreign Relations Committee to testify on Nixon's war policy. Kissinger has never before appeared at a formal meeting of the committee.

In addition, war critics in the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee and the Senate judiciary subcommittee on refugees are planning to hold hearings on the effects of the bombings on U.S. relations with European countries, as well as the civilian damage from the raids.

Senator William Saxbe (R-Ohio) probably best expressed the major concern of the congressional war critics when he stated that "all hell is going to break loose" in this country unless Nixon changes his war policies.

"I'm not talking about the radicals, either," said Saxbe. "I'm talking about the average upright American who's had enough." Saxbe was previously a supporter of the war.

Referring to the recommendation some years ago by retired General

Curtis LeMay that Vietnam should be bombed "back into the Stone Ages," Saxbe remarked that Nixon was doing precisely that, "and everybody laughed at LeMay at that time."

Nixon's order for at least a temporary bombing halt on Dec. 30 met with statements of approval from many congressional war critics.

At the height of the bombing, 21 Democratic members of the House of Representatives signed a letter to Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss requesting that the committee meet "to discuss plans for a nationwide campaign to mobilize public opposition to President Nixon's war policy."

What's behind this apparent stiffening of the spines of congressional doves? A survey of the breadth of protest in answer to Nixon's bombing indicates the pressure from the American people that are prompting Congress to act.

On Dec. 30 a group of clergymen led a silent march of 2,000 persons to the White House protesting the bombings. A massive religious convocation for peace has been called for Washington, D.C., on Jan. 3 and 4 by a group of 44 religious leaders of different faiths from all over the country. Signed by leading theo-

logians and 15 Catholic, United Methodist, and Mennonite bishops, the statement calling the convocation says, "We need no more brilliantly contrived explanations of diplomatic failures. The bombing must be stopped. The war must be ended."

Several churches in Southern California held a joint press conference Dec. 22 expressing "despair over the renewal and escalation of bombing in Vietnam." In New York City the Reverend Daniel Berrigan led antiwar demonstrations in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral, protesting Cardinal Cooke's refusal to condemn the bombing. The Reverend Ernest Campbell of Riverside Church in New York issued an open letter to evangelist Billy Graham asking why he has not urged Nixon to end the bombing.

On Dec. 30 the world's largest science organization, the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), issued a statement calling for "an immediate cessation of hostilities" and an immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Two days earlier, the Federation of American Scientists also condemned the renewed U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

About 250 scientists participating in

*Continued on page 22*

## Jan. 20 protest

The Bach Mai Hospital, the largest in Hanoi, was completely destroyed during the terror bombing ordered by President Nixon. Two bombs fell directly into the blood transfusion center. Twenty-three doctors, nurses, and medical students, as well as a number of patients, were killed; 1,550 quarts of plasma were destroyed.

The horror of such indiscriminate bombing and the outrage at having been deceived and betrayed once again by Nixon and Kissinger have produced an international wave of protest.

This worldwide outcry helped force Nixon to order a temporary halt to bombing north of the twentieth parallel. But the B-52s and other warplanes have only been diverted to other parts of Southeast Asia. And the threat of attacks on Hanoi and Haiphong remains in full force.

The response to the new escalation has illuminated the international antiwar movement's potential power to limit Washington's options. The need to intensify and expand antiwar activity throughout the world is greater than ever.

Support is rapidly growing for the demonstrations planned for Washington, D. C., and other cities on Jan. 20, the day that Nixon begins his second four years in office. The president will undoubtedly claim his landslide election gave him a "mandate" for his current course.

Let's answer him in the streets on Jan. 20 with a mandate that truly represents the will of the people of the entire world: Get the U. S. Out of Southeast Asia Now!

## Nicaragua tragedy

The events surrounding the immense tragedy of the Nicaraguan earthquake have shown again the inability of the capitalist system to aid the victims of such natural disasters.

In Managua tens of thousands were killed or injured. The city is in rubble. Two hundred thousand people are homeless and 250,000 unemployed.

What was the immediate response of the Somoza dictatorship of Nicaragua? It sent troops to guard the downtown stores, offices, and especially the banks. Troops were ordered to shoot "looters" on sight. The first priority of the capitalist Nicaraguan government was to protect whatever private property was left, against the poor.

But what about the millions of dollars of relief aid sent by the U. S. and other capitalist governments? A report from Nicaragua in the Dec. 29 *New York Times* says that "observers could verify that refugees were receiving only a pittance five days after the national catastrophe, although there has been a huge flow of all kinds of aid from 24 countries."

Government bureaucrats responsible for distribution of the aid are simply enriching themselves.

Meanwhile the U. S. government is making a lot of noise about how humanitarian it is for sending aid to Managua. But according to the U. S. Agency for International Development, the U. S. provided the measly total of \$3-million in relief supplies and other aid. Compare this token aid with Washington's enthusiasm in airlifting massive military aid to the Thieu regime when it appeared that a cease-fire might be agreed upon. Nixon rushed \$300-million in aircraft alone to the Thieu dictatorship.

The hypocrisy of Nixon and Somoza contrasts with the real expressions of human solidarity from working people throughout the world. An example of such solidarity was the collection of aid by Puerto Rican baseball star Roberto Clemente, who died in a plane crash on his way to Nicaragua. Clemente wanted to go to Nicaragua to make sure the aid he collected got into the hands of those in need rather than profiteers.

With a socialist organization of society human beings will be able to effectively counteract these natural tragedies. A socialist government would help mobilize working people to send massive aid to their stricken brothers and sisters in another country. In a country where such a tragedy occurred, a socialist government would distribute aid through the trade unions or other popular organizations, and would work to alleviate human misery rather than to protect private property.

## Says McGov would have halted war

Speaking as a former McGovern campaign worker, I fail to see any reason for claims that McGovern's and Nixon's policies are the same. For one thing, the war would have been over by April if McGovern had been elected. Does anyone care to bet about the status of the war in April under Nixon?

I'll admit McGovern's a capitalist, but I'd rather have our army of men, who were kidnapped from their homes, home safely than work for a candidate who can't win and who's from a party that never won—even if I believe in them.

The people I worked with shared two things: a hatred of the war and a bitter hatred of Nixon. But these two things were the main and, rarely, the only things in common. I myself think I lean far to the left. (I agree with *The Militant* on almost all points, especially Nixon and the war.)

Jay Baltz

Philadelphia, Pa.

P. S. I am an antiwar activist now.

## Debating abortion foes

In reference to Cindy Jaquith's article "Debating anti-abortion forces" in the Dec. 15 *Militant*, I agree that a strong offensive is necessary in determining a strategy to lead the abortion rights campaign.

To begin with, let's take the anti-abortion forces for what they really are—an effort to intimidate and stop women from exercising their right to determine their own destiny. If our sisters are not given the right to determine their own destiny because of the morality of the Catholic Church (which the American government has already tied up in its power structure), next will follow more crusades to then stop anything that is contrary to Catholic morality.

When the anti-abortion people hold up a picture of a fetus we should hold up a picture of Mylai and tell them to get their morality over to Washington, D. C., and stop killing in Vietnam. To me this is a sharp contradiction—that the Catholic Church is willing to fight for a fetus, which is not a conscious individual, but not for the people in Vietnam and elsewhere.

And if the question arises, "You're against killing in Vietnam but not against killing a fetus?", I answer that I am for the right of the Vietnamese people to determine their own destiny without any foreign intervention and I am for the right of women to determine their own destiny as well.

I also stress that since the fetus is still a part of the woman, it is that women's duty to determine what would be in the best interest of herself and the fetus. The fetus is not a living person and it is not conscious of life, so therefore it cannot determine its own destiny.

Hence the woman, being aware of her social environment and using her empirical knowledge, can determine what is best for herself and the fetus. If that be abortion, then abortion it should be.

R. V.

Scranton, Pa.

## Vietnam settlement

There is one point in the debate over the proposed Vietnam settlement that I don't think you've mentioned but I find convincing. If we

tell people the settlement is a good one and urge its acceptance, what do we do if the National Liberation Front or other sections of the Vietnamese people "violate" any sections of the "settlement"?

If we have told people that the settlement is good and just, we have then left ourselves open to the argument that the U. S. has a right to get reinvolved if the "good and Just" settlement is broken.

The best thing for us to do is to reaffirm our commitment to immediate and unconditional withdrawal and educate people about the need for that. If we do that, we will be in the best position to defend the Vietnamese should Nixon try to use any real or imagined violation of the "settlement" as an excuse for further U. S. intervention.

Keep up the good work.

J. G.

New York, N. Y.

## Harrington resignation

Milton Alvin, in an article entitled "Max Schactman, 1904-1972" in the Dec. 1 issue of *The Militant*, says, "[Michael] Harrington recently resigned as cochairman of the Socialist Party because other leaders of the party were too critical of McGovern."

This is seriously misleading. Harrington's position, as stated in his letter of resignation (see the *Nation*, Nov. 13), is that many party leaders who were "critical of McGovern" were critical from the right and privately even supported Nixon. Harrington's letter discusses this point in some detail.

Donald Perlis

Mayaguez, Puerto Rico

*In reply*—Michael Harrington's recent resignation from the national co-chairmanship of the Socialist Party was referred to in passing in an article about the life of Max Schactman. We think it was clear from the context of the sentence you cite that Milton Alvin did, in fact, note that Schactman, and other SP leaders, stood to the right of Harrington. Here is the full quote:

"Schactman's journey from revolutionary to reactionary politics can be measured in the fact that at the time of his death he stood to the right of Michael Harrington, a McGovern supporter in the 1972 presidential elections who holds Schactman's estimate of the Soviet Union. Harrington recently resigned as co-chairman of the Socialist Party because other leaders of the party were too critical of McGovern."

## American revolution

Debby Leonard, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas in the recent elections, spoke here in Houston Dec. 14 at a symposium on the American revolution. The symposium was organized at Dominican College in connection with national activities around the bicentennial of the American revolution.

Both Leonard and Professor Forrest MacDonald of Wayne State University presented papers at the gathering. William Ballew, a well-known Houston attorney and head of the Texas Bill of Rights Foundation, was invited to present a critique of the papers.

Leonard presented a socialist analysis of both the American revolution and the Civil War, which she called the "second American



## National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

# UMW: Miller team takes charge

The transfer of control in the 200,000-member United Mine Workers of America from an unscrupulous gang of company-minded bureaucrats to the newly elected leadership began Dec. 22.

Arnold Miller was installed as the new president, Mike Trbovich as vice-president, and Harry Patrick as secretary treasurer. These officials took over after being certified by the U.S. Department of Labor as winners of a court-ordered election that ousted former UMW president William Boyle.

They have a background in struggle for control of the union by its members and for protection of the miners by the union. Miller was president of the 192-member UMW local at the Bethlehem Steel Company's mine at Kayford, W. Va., when he agreed to serve as president of the West Virginia Black Lung Association in 1969.

Mike Trbovich and Harry Patrick were both working miners until chosen last May at the convention of Miners for Democracy to run for office.

About three hundred miners came in from the coal fields to the UMW headquarters in Washington, D. C., for the inauguration of their new union representatives. It was a happy occasion, and a big change in atmosphere at the massive stone and marble structure that was once the Washington University Club.

This was the first time a band of union miners marched through the corridors of that old building as if they owned the place. And the truth is they were only bringing the message from the miners back in the coal regions who now feel that they have taken possession of their union and have finally come into their own.

Immediately after taking the oath of office Miller told the miners who were present for the occasion that the "most serious problem" is safety. He promised that mine owners will "respond to the problems of coal mining, or suffer the consequences." This was prompted in part by the deaths on Dec. 16 of five miners at the Consolidated Coal Company's Itmann No. 3 mine near Mullens, W. Va.

In the past 15 years, 1,427 UMW members have died in accidents, 181 in 1971 and more than 150 in 1972. The word is out that union men will no longer rely on the Federal Bureau of Mines and the state and company inspectors to determine when and where working conditions are safe. This means

that UMW members will soon elect their own safety men in every mine.

Democracy in the mine pits goes hand in hand with democracy in the union. "We pledged full autonomy for UMW districts in our campaign, and we intend to keep our pledge," Miller said upon assuming office. Elections for district officers are scheduled for June.

Miller removed 20 of former president Boyle's appointees from the 24-member UMW executive board. In their place he appointed 14 "interim" board members to serve until the elections can be held, leaving six vacancies. He removed Boyle's editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, Justin McCarthy. He got rid of the Boyle-appointed union attorney, Edward Carey. Suzanne Richards, Boyle's \$40,000-a-year assistant, was dismissed.

The new administration has filled these positions with supporters and advisers in the struggle to oust the old UMW bureaucrats. The new editor of the union paper is Don Stillman, the 27-year-old West Virginia University journalism instructor who prepared copy for Miller's election campaign.

The new UMW attorney is Joseph A. Yablonski, 35, the legal adviser to Miners for Democracy, whose father was murdered after challenging Boyle for the union presidency in the 1969 rigged election. Richard Bank, 28, a Charleston, W. Va., attorney, is Miller's executive assistant. Edgar James, 26, a graduate student from Portland, Ore., is assistant to vice-president Trbovich.

Meyer Bernstein, an ex-official of the Steelworkers union and special observer for the Labor Department in the government-supervised UMW election, has been appointed UMW director of public and international affairs.

Miller's campaign promises included the following: 1) to reduce officers' salaries; 2) to move the union headquarters into the mine fields; 3) to raise miners' pensions to \$200 monthly; 4) to exercise strict control of the UMW-owned National Bank of Washington; 5) to organize the unorganized miners; 6) membership ratification of all union contracts; 7) election of all union officials.

Whether these promises can be filled will depend upon how soon and how well the union ranks begin to exercise control over the decision-making apparatus of the union.

revolution." She explained that full freedom for all of the American people can only be won through a third American revolution, which will be socialist.

Professor MacDonald advanced the unusual thesis that the American revolution was not actually a revolution and that the masses, rather than being motivated by an urge for revolutionary change, were propelled by a "desire to prevent change. Inertia."

Ballew commented on the similarity between the American revolution and the current Vietnamese revolutionary struggle for independence.

Nelson Blackstock  
Houston, Texas

### Cancels subscription

After perusing several issues of *The Militant*, I find that I'm getting tired of sifting through a haystack of opinion to find a needle of interesting, factual news. In an article entitled "Biggest Militant sub drive yet: 35,441 new readers in 9 weeks" (*Militant*, Dec. 8), Nancy Cole states: "A subscription drive of this size . . . is also another index by which we can judge the depth of the radicalization of American youth." If this statement is to be true, then please cancel my subscription.

Another noteworthy item: You bill *The Militant* as "Published in the interests of the working people," yet Ms. Cole states in her article that "the majority of subscriptions were sold to college students. . . ." Are college students, for the most part, "working people"? I doubt it.  
M. K.  
Seattle, Wash.

In reply — Think it over. Of the more than nine million students currently enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities, only a tiny percentage will go on to enter positions of ruling-class power.

A college education no longer even means that a graduate is likely to become a government functionary, a small businessman, or a member of one of the professions.

The great majority will more likely become highly qualified technicians or skilled workers. Relatively well paid, yes, but still wage workers with nothing to sell but their labor power. Which explains why more and more middle-class students tend to identify with the status awaiting them after graduation rather than with their family origin.

While they are still in college, however, most students do not yet have to work for a living and thus have the time to absorb and discuss new ideas. At the same time they have strong ties with the rest of their generation in the high schools, the factories, and the army.

These factors help explain why students have been deeply radicalized by the Vietnam war. They also explain why *The Militant* makes a major effort to secure as many readers as possible on the campuses.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.



## Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith

# Catholic women ignore Pope

It has been four years since Pope Paul VI issued his famous encyclical banning Catholics from using all forms of birth control except rhythm. During this time, opposition to this reactionary stand has grown within the Catholic Church.

More than two-thirds of married Catholic women currently practice birth control methods banned by the papal doctrine. This information comes from the National Fertility Study, which found that in 1970, 68 percent of married Catholic women between the ages of 18 and 39 were using contraceptive methods other than rhythm. The 1970 figure compares with 30 percent in 1955 and 51 percent in 1965.

The survey underscores what two of its authors call "a wide gulf between the behavior of most Catholic women, on the one hand, and the position of the more conservative clergy and the official stand of the church itself, on the other."

In fact, the survey showed that even among those women defined as the "most committed" to their religion — those who take Communion at least once a month — 53 percent use methods other than rhythm.

According to the survey, young Catholic women are the most likely to disobey the Church's teachings. Seventy-eight percent of Catholic women between the ages of 20 and 24 said they used birth control methods other than rhythm.

Another example of the growing conflict between young Catholics and the Church hierarchy is the dispute at Georgetown University in Washington, D. C., over a sex education booklet put out by the student government. Georgetown is a Catholic school.

The 46-page pamphlet, called "Human Sexual Re-

sponse-Ability," includes sections on abortion, birth control, and homosexuality. Distribution of the pamphlet on campus provoked Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle, the archbishop in D. C., to demand its withdrawal in an article in the *Catholic Standard*, the official newspaper of the archdiocese.

O'Boyle said the booklet ran "directly contrary to the moral teaching of the church." Furthermore, he felt that the six medical students who wrote the booklet were "lacking in proper guidance and direction," and he questioned their "ability and expertise." Presumably, the medical "ability and expertise" of the pope is above question.

This incident also showed that Catholic Church officials disagree over how to handle this issue. The Reverend Edmund Ryan, executive vice-president of educational affairs at Georgetown, took the side of the students. In a rebuttal to the archbishop, also printed in the *Catholic Standard*, he argued for the right of freedom of expression at Catholic schools.

Another case of Catholic officials disputing the ban on birth control devices is the recent statement by 80 Catholic bishops in Mexico. The bishop's declaration, while vague, gave support to the government-sponsored family-planning program, which goes into effect Jan. 1.

Under the program, clinics in Mexico will dispense free birth control pills, diaphragms, IUDs, and contraceptive foam, all methods that are officially prohibited by the Church.

The bishops' statement was published in *Excelsior*, a leading Mexico City daily.





**We knew there was a catch**—"I don't think there is any sex in heaven. If people only want to go to heaven for sex, they better have their sex on earth."—Reverend Billy Graham

**Humble Americans**—We've always been impressed by the modesty of the oil barons. Like J. Paul Getty had an 80th birthday party in London with but 200 guests. It was thrown together by his friend Margaret, Duchess of Argyll. She explained it was "a small dinner dance . . . I invited his friends and mine and our mutual friends from Paris, America, London, and elsewhere." Meanwhile, oilman H. L. Hunt said all he wanted for Xmas was "a good corn cure" for his little toe.

**Iddy biddy hookers**—We're sure the pill pushing industry couldn't be connected with such firms as the one in California that produces a children's item called "Doc Whacky's candy pills," a cure-all for "iddy biddy irritations" such as "Mom and Pop," "homework," and "babysitters."

**Maybe even help blow it up**—Indicating a certain sensitivity image-wise, a Kodak recruitment ad in the U of Pennsylvania **Daily Pennsylvanian** suggests, "Maybe the way to change the world is to join a large corporation."

**Note to Levi Strauss**—Striking down a Massachusetts flag desecration ordi-

nance, a U.S. appeals court ruled that wearing the flag on the seat of your pants is not a crime.

**Bureaucrats drive 'em up the wall**—The Soviet population increased 16 percent in the last decade but coffin nail consumption was up 50 percent.

**Department of Pure Coincidence**—During a recess in a receiving-stolen-property trial in Redding, Calif., someone ripped off the court reporter's \$500 tape recorder. The courtroom from which it vanished, according to the Associated Press, "is approximately 20 yards down the hallway from the Shasta County Sheriff's Department."

**Shockproof fish**—Tokyo officials warn that fish caught in Japanese waters could be dangerously contaminated by polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB), a chemical compound used as an insulating agent in electrical products. PCB symptoms include nausea, vomiting, and sealing of the upper eyelids. Excessive consumption can be fatal. Officials said they would ask 3,000 factories using the stuff to switch to something nonpoisonous. Provided, we presume, it isn't inconvenient or unprofitable.

**News of the week**—"Price Comparisons No Guide to Quality."—Headline in the **Los Angeles Times**.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



## Jesse Jackson and Liberia

Many Blacks are genuinely interested in developing a positive Pan-Africanist outlook. But some are scrambling at breakneck speed to take advantage of the new interest in Africa for a variety of ill-conceived reasons.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) spelled out his intentions toward Africa after a recent trip to Liberia. The Dec. 21 *Jet* quoted him as saying, "The relationship of Black Americans to Africans has to move from romance to finance and from lip service to ship service."

At the heart of Jackson's plans is an attempt to obtain dual citizenship for U.S. Blacks both here and in Liberia. This, he says, will be a step toward opening new markets and alliances between Liberians and Black Americans. Jackson claims his plan, which was warmly received by Liberian President William Tolbert, is based on economic reality.

But it is white-owned U.S. capitalist interests that actually dominate the Liberian economy. Rubber and iron ore, the principal natural resources, have been stripped from the country since Firestone "Robber" Company and other U.S. corpo-

rate giants became heavily involved there in the 1920s.

(Liberia was established in 1847 by emancipated American slaves who were financed by the U.S. government. Descendants of these former slaves comprise the present ruling elite, which oppresses the indigenous African majority.)

Jackson thinks encouraging Black businessmen to invest in Liberia will benefit Liberians. This assumes, of course, that the already entrenched white imperialists would freely and without protest give up a piece of the Liberian pie to their new Black competitors. It also assumes there are enough Black businessmen with enough capital to compete with white big business.

Neither Tolbert nor Jackson is seeking to deprive imperialism of its control of African land or resources. Tolbert profits from the special status American corporations enjoy in Liberia. Similarly, Jackson looks to big business to improve conditions in the Black community here.

But whatever concessions U.S. capitalism is willing to make cannot be stretched to the point of granting the African masses control of the land, farms, and mineral resources of Liberia, nor of

granting Black control of the Black community here.

The big U.S. corporations—General Motors, Ford, Firestone, IT&T—are part of the problem, the very agents responsible for the Liberian life expectancy of 37 years and for the fact that 91 percent of the population is illiterate. Tolbert and his regime are the front men for imperialism and ensure its continued domination of Liberia.

As the preamble to the National Black Political Agenda states, "Economic, cultural, and spiritual depression stalk Black America, and the price for survival often appears to be more than we are able to pay. On every side, in every area of our lives, the American institutions in which we have placed our trust are unable to cope with the crises they have created by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all."

This is why Africans and African-Americans must struggle to eliminate capitalism and imperialism. Only then will the destiny of Africa be controlled by Africans, and the destiny of the Black community here be controlled by Black people.

## The American Way of Life

### Lee Smith



## Litton 'buys in,' Gordon Rule on way out

For the last 10 years, Gordon Rule was the director of procurement control and clearance for the Navy Materiel Command. This civilian job provided Rule with an office in the Pentagon and an annual salary of \$36,000. On Dec. 22, 1972, Rule was suddenly booted out of his position and given a new job consulting on the procurement of supplies for a Navy school at the Anacostia Naval Station in Washington, D.C.

The day before he kicked Rule downstairs, the 65-year-old civil servant's military boss, Admiral Isaac Kidd Jr., visited Rule at home. Reportedly, the admiral brought along retirement papers, which Rule refused to sign.

A Pentagon public affairs officer said Admiral Kidd "lost confidence in the judgment of Mr. Rule" after Rule testified before a subcommittee of the Senate and House Joint Economic Committee. The public affairs officer said: "Mr. Rule's remarks [before the committee] about former President Eisenhower were very nearly the ultimate in poor taste and bad judgment."

Rule had said that Eisenhower, who warned about a "military-industrial complex" in a 1960 speech, "must be twitching in his grave" at the growing symbiosis of defense contractors and the

Pentagon. Government contracting, Rule told the committee, has become a "quasi-welfare industry."

In response to a question from Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.), Rule said he considered Nixon's appointment of Roy Ash to head the Office of Management and Budget a "mistake." He said further that he considered Ash's acceptance of the post "a worse mistake."

Ash is a former president of Litton Industries Inc., shipbuilders for the Navy. Litton is currently in a dispute with the government over two contracts. The source of the dispute is a practice Rule referred to in his testimony as "buying in." That is, weapons manufacturers cut the size of their initial bids for government jobs to win a contract in competitive bidding. Then later, when the corporation runs out of money, it asks for more to finish the job.

Rule also mentioned the Grumman Corporation in his discussion of buying in. Grumman cut its bid by \$500-million to get the F-14 fighter plane contract in 1969. It has refused to build 48 planes requested by the Navy under the contract until it gets \$500-million more than it bid. Rule called this "the most flagrant buy-in I've seen."

Rule wants the imperialist government to use

its money more efficiently to obtain the weapons it needs to maintain its world domination. That is also the concern of Proxmire and other congressional officials who have spoken out against the demotion given to Rule for his testimony.

Three years ago, a deputy assistant secretary in the Air Force who made similar criticisms of cost overruns in Lockheed's production of transport planes got sent to Thailand to check out bowling alleys. When A. Ernest Fitzgerald found cost overruns in the bowling alley job, he was fired altogether.

It is obvious that men like Fitzgerald and Rule are perfectly loyal to the U.S. government and the capitalist system. They see the wasteful pork-barreling that goes on in the name of "defense" as a liability for imperialism. It is a measure of how vital the top imperialists view this gravy train to be that they slap down loyal servants with such viciousness.

Rule, who is on leave while he decides what to do, was ungraciously told to "go through channels" when he tried to protest personally to Navy Secretary John Warner against his transfer Dec. 27.

## De Beauvoir, Spock among endorsers

# Int'l Abortion Tribunal gains new support

By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK—On the weekend of March 9-11, women and men from all over the U.S. and from other parts of the world will gather at Town Hall in New York City for a historic event: the International Abortion Tribunal.

Since 1910, when March 8 was first designated International Women's Day, this date has been one of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for their liberation. Today one of the central struggles of the international women's liberation movement is for the right of women to control their own reproductive lives.

Author Simone de Beauvoir has agreed to serve as honorary chairwoman of the Tribunal, which was called last July by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). Other endorsers of the event include Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Beulah Sanders, president of the National Welfare Rights Organization; Congresswoman Bella Abzug; Mary Lindsay; and TV commentator Barbara Walters.

Through the personal testimony of

women, and through the evidence legal and medical experts present, the Tribunal will give a voice to the unheard millions of women around the world who suffer from laws denying them the right to control their own bodies.

The Tribunal will focus attention on the struggle to defend the liberalized abortion law in New York. This law, which has enabled 400,000 women from all over the U.S. to get legal abortions in the last two years, is under heavy attack from anti-abortion forces and the Catholic Church hierarchy.

These reactionary so-called right-to-life forces are already beginning to organize a campaign larger than the one they carried out in Michigan, where a referendum to liberalize the state's abortion law was defeated Nov. 7.

Fourteen New York state legislators have submitted a bill to outlaw all abortions except those to save the life of a pregnant woman. The current law allows legal abortion up through the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy.

In response to this attack on the

New York law, WONAAC is joining with other forces to hold a news conference in New York City on Jan. 11. Among the individuals who have already agreed to speak at the conference are Gloria Steinem, Kate Millett, and Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City human rights commissioner.

WONAAC is also organizing women to testify at the Jan. 30 legislative hearings on abortion to be held in Albany.

As part of the counteroffensive to defend the right to abortion in New York, the Saturday night session of the Tribunal will be a special rally in Support of the New York law. The evening will feature prominent individuals and entertainers.

In addition to testimony on the New York abortion law, the International Tribunal Committee of WONAAC is collecting testimony on the status of the abortion fight in other states and is also seeking the testimony of women from other countries, including foreign students studying here in the U.S. Recent struggles in France, Italy, and Germany for the right to abortion emphasize the importance of the Tribunal's international aspect.

In just two weeks more than 150 individuals and organizations have endorsed the Tribunal. These include writers Anais Nin, Kate Millett, and Alix Kates Shulman; Dr. Alan Guttmacher, president of Planned Parenthood Federation; antiwar leader Ruth Gage-Colby; Patricia Burnett, member of the national board of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Michigan Women's Commission; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party; and Amy Swerdlow of Women Strike for Peace.

Also, Ti-Grace Atkinson; attorney Brenda Feigen-Fasteau; Elinor Guggenheimer; Josephine Hulett of the National Committee of Household Employees; attorney Florynce Kennedy; Dr. Edgar Keemer; Eleanor Holmes Norton; and Ralph Schoenman.

Some of the organizations that have pledged support to the Tribunal are the American Civil Liberties Union; the National Lawyers Guild; the Fourth National British Women's Liberation Conference; the Women's Political Caucus in Monroe County, N.Y., and in Cuyahoga County, Ohio; and NOW chapters in Santa Cruz, Calif., and Essex County, N.J.

Also Physicians Forum of New York, New York Zero Population Growth, New York City Coalition for a Free Choice, Cleveland Gay Activists Alliance, the Feminist Party, and many campus and city-wide women's liberation groups around the country.

Trade unionists who have supported the Tribunal include Auda Romaine, executive board, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Local 427 in Cleveland; Mary Jane Nolan, Women's Rights Committee, Local 1746 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Anne Draper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Blanche Hunter, Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board in New York.

The executive board of Local 371 of the Social Service Employees Union in New York, which has more than 12,000 members, has voted unanimously to help defend the New York law. Its newspaper, *The Unionist*, ran an article on the New York abortion fight in its Dec. 22 issue, urging union members to attend the Tribunal.



Simone de Beauvoir



Dr. Benjamin Spock

## Defending the right to abortion

# Is adoption substitute for abortion right?

By ANDREA MORELL

Anti-abortion groups frequently propose adoption as an "alternative" to legalization of abortion. Writing in the *Los Angeles Times* last summer, Eunice Kennedy Shriver argues for this view. Citing her "belief in life," she says, in essence, that a woman should be forced to continue an unwanted pregnancy to term and then give up the child for adoption if she does not wish to raise the child.

Shriver contends that not only is adoption morally superior to abortion but that there is a social basis for it as well. There are, she claims, too few adoptive children to satisfy the demand for them. "In the adoption agencies of every state," she writes, "the same pitiful story is told, day after day, to hundreds of heart-stricken prospective parents: 'We have no baby for you.'"

Shriver assures the "thousands of young women who find themselves facing an unplanned pregnancy . . . that the life they are bearing is not unwanted." Rather, she says, "it is deeply wanted by a family that can't have children of its own."

This is a truly remarkable proposal. Here are women—thousands by Shriver's own admission—who do not want to bear children but who are asked to do so anyway in order to give them to women who don't have any. As if bearing a child and giving it up were as simple as giving an

extra pair of shoes to charity in order to shod the needy! This callous endorsement of the concept of women as baby breeders and babies as commodities is no solution to the tragedy of the unwillingly childless.

Of course women *should* have the freedom to continue an unwanted pregnancy to term and give the child up for adoption if they want to, and in fact women already have this right. Shriver, however, wants to make this the *only* alternative open to women, by keeping abortion illegal. The abortion rights movement is fighting for the right of women to *choose* abortion as another solution to unwanted pregnancy.

Eunice Shriver's proposal is cruelest of all, perhaps, to the children. Is there really a "shortage" of homeless children, as she would have us believe? Not at all. Two years ago *New York Post* feature writer Jack Robbins reported that "of the 50,000 children in the care of the State of New York fewer than 10,000 have any real chance of finding a permanent home." And why is that? Robbins explains, "The others are too old, too crippled, too black, and no one wants them."

New York state is not exceptional. An article in the Dec. 7, 1970, *New York Times* noted: "Although no national statistics are available, the . . . Child Welfare League of America reports that . . . adoption agencies have



Militant/Mark Satinoff

been reporting fewer Caucasian infants available. . . . At the same time, both public and private agencies report a continuing problem with placing older children, black children and children with handicaps. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, the overwhelming majority of "adoptive" children aren't going to be adopted at all! And Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Indian babies are the victims of racism while still in their cribs. The average homeless child is not on his or her way to a "loving family" as sketched in rosy terms by Eunice Shriver, but rather to a series of foster homes or public institutions, where rejection and

neglect are the norm.

The criminal neglect of children stands as an indictment of the capitalist social system. In this society children depend on their families for their welfare, and if they have no family to care for them, they are social misfits, an unwelcome burden on society. In addition, so-called illegitimate children are stigmatized by this society for life.

Under a socialist system there would be no such thing as socially rejected children or "illegitimate" children. All children will be assured the best care society can provide, whatever the income level of their parents.

Continued on page 22

# An answer to the Guardian on Vietnam

## What's wrong with 'sign now'?

By BARRY SHEPPARD

The *Guardian* newspaper, in its Dec. 27 and Jan. 3 editions, has come out for united antiwar demonstrations against Nixon's new escalation of the war. This is a welcome development and will help make possible broad support for the Jan. 20 protest demonstrations.

The *Guardian* recognizes that there have been sharp differences in the antiwar movement, with the National Peace Action Coalition maintaining its "Out Now" position and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice calling on Nixon to "Sign Now" the nine-point proposed accord made public by Hanoi in October. The *Guardian* suggests that "unity" could be achieved by making both of these demands the official demands of current antiwar actions.

There are serious political differences in the antiwar movement, and at the same time there is a burning need for united action. The way to achieve the greatest unity in action is *not* for one position to be imposed upon the entire movement, or for all forces involved to say they support each other's positions (when, in fact, they don't). The only basis for united action is to agree that all forces involved can put forward their own slogans and demands, while at the same time agreeing to march together against the war.

Such a united front, or nonexclusion, approach in the current situation can mobilize the greatest numbers in opposition to Washington's aggression. This is the most important task facing the antiwar movement, and the discussion over which slogan is correct should proceed in this context. Such a discussion will help raise the level of political understanding of the participants and bring about greater political clarity on a very important question.

The *Guardian* editors, who support the "Sign Now" demand, take the Socialist Workers Party and NPAC to task for maintaining their position of demanding immediate, total, and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. The Socialist Workers Party, they write in the Dec. 27 issue, "must be criticized for its 'left' opportunist opposition to the demand that Nixon sign the October accords. . . ." The *Guardian* editors add that they "assume those who have been taken in by the SWP's propaganda are having second thoughts in view of Nixon's latest moves."

In discussing this dispute we should first examine the question of principle and then see how this relates to "Nixon's latest moves."

The principle involved is the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination. The current struggle in South Vietnam has its roots in a civil war between fundamentally opposed class forces. On the one side are the workers and peasants, and on the other are the landlords, the capitalists, and their regime centered in Saigon.

Fundamental questions are involved in this struggle, including land reform, democracy, and economic development. To win their elementary demands, the Vietnamese workers and peasants will have to break the rule of the landlords and capitalists, establish a government under their own control, take Vietnam out of the orbit of imperialism, and begin the tasks of socialist construction.

The U.S. imperialists intervened massively in this civil war when it became apparent that the Saigon regime was in danger of imminent collapse.

Revolutionary socialists, Leninists, which the *Guardian* editors claim to

be, have always stood on the side of countries dominated directly or indirectly by imperialism, in their struggles to free themselves from such domination. Leninists have seen such struggles as an integral part of the world revolution against capitalism and for socialism.

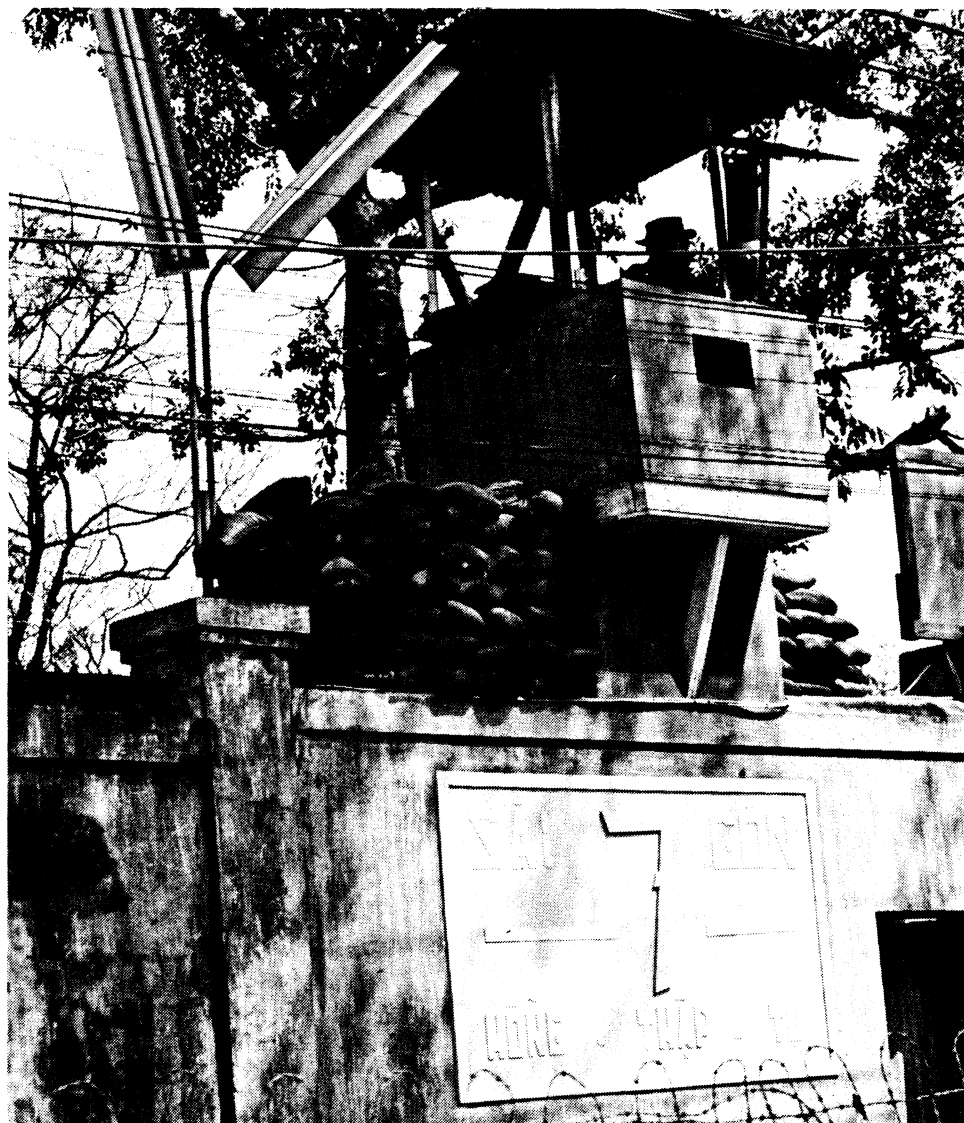
In Vietnam today, it is clear that the social revolution is so deep that without U.S. intervention the Saigon regime would be swept away by the upsurge of the workers and peasants.

The demand that the U.S. get out of Southeast Asia immediately and without conditions and allow the Vietnamese to determine their own future is in consonance with the principle

ists the right to a say-so on what that future will be.

The importance of this can be seen in the nine points themselves. Some should be supported as far as they go, such as the provision for stopping the bombing and withdrawing the remaining U.S. troops from South Vietnam. The demand for "U.S. Out Now" encompasses these points.

But other parts of the nine-point settlement should *not* be supported by the antiwar movement. Under the nine-point accord, Washington's bombers and troops would remain off the Vietnamese coast and in bases in Thailand, poised to intervene again if Washington so orders.



Militant/Barry Sheppard

The Saigon military dictatorship rules without popular support. The nine-point proposal recognizes the rule of this regime in much of Vietnam.

that the U.S. has no right to intervene in Vietnam. It is the key demand for revolutionists inside the U.S. to raise in defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

At the same time, since it is not in the interests of the American workers to support imperialism's aims in Vietnam, the "Out Now" demand helps educate broad masses on the principle that the U.S. should not be intervening in Vietnam or anywhere else—and helps mobilize them in action against that intervention.

The antiwar movement here should not support demands or slogans that imply or state that Washington has *any* right to determine the future of Vietnam. Unfortunately, the demand that Washington sign the nine points does just that.

The Vietnamese, of course, have the right to negotiate with the imperialist bandits who are conducting a genocidal war in their country.

But if the American antiwar movement were to call on Nixon to sign the accords negotiated with the Vietnamese, then we would be saying that the U.S. has the right to conduct such negotiations. Since the subject of the negotiations is the future of Vietnam, this would implicitly give the imperial-

The importance of this condition has been emphasized by the recent murderous assault on North Vietnam.

A key condition imposed upon the Vietnamese by the proposed accord would be the maintenance of the Saigon regime and its control over the areas it now holds, which includes the major cities. In September, a Hanoi spokesman explained the danger in any such agreement:

"First," he said, "Mr. Nixon will be able to present himself to the US electorate as having made peace, and, what is no less important, the Saigon regime can appear as the legal government of the country, all attempt to overthrow it being now a violation of the agreements signed, which might set in motion a terrible mechanism of reprisals." (The full text of this statement was published in the Dec. 1, 1972, *Militant*.)

Most supporters of the "Sign Now" demand, of course, would not say that they are for the right of the U.S. to keep its bombers and troops in position to attack Vietnam, or for the maintenance of the Saigon regime's control of the cities, or for U.S. bases being turned over to Saigon instead of being dismantled.

But that's just what "Sign Now" im-

plies.

The "Sign Now" demand politically handicaps the antiwar movement, blinding its supporters to the urgent need to oppose having such conditions forced on the Vietnamese.

Let's turn now to Nixon's latest moves. Do they show that the SWP has been "left opportunist," as the *Guardian* claims, in insisting that the principle of self-determination is crucial?

On their face, the nine points recognize two administrations and two armies in South Vietnam after a ceasefire. These two sides would then supposedly negotiate and set up a tripartite body consisting of representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Saigon regime, and "neutralists."

This tripartite body, which would operate by consensus, would then organize elections to decide the political future of South Vietnam. But the fundamental fact would be the existence of the two armies and two governments.

These two armies and governments represent two completely opposed class forces. Such a situation would not be "peaceful."

On the question of which class is to rule there can be no compromise. One side or the other would have to eventually dominate the country, and that could be decided only through a struggle for power. It could not be decided by elections or through negotiations. The situation dictated by the nine points would be inherently unstable, with the outcome determined by the relationship of forces and the intentions of both sides.

Behind the position of many in the antiwar movement who support the "Sign Now" demand is the belief that the U.S. would agree, in fact if not in words, to leave Vietnam if it were to sign the October accords.

Just after the announcement of the nine points by Hanoi, the *Guardian* carried an article on the proposed accords entitled "Vietnam victory foreseen." This article said that the nine points represented a "triumph for the liberation forces," and that the conditions contained in them, especially the "consent of the PRG to an interim existence of the puppet administration, contrary to its announced aims prior to the drawing up of the present peace agreement," were merely window dressing—a face-saving formula for the U.S. to withdraw from the conflict.

If this were actually the case, we could expect that the Saigon regime would not last long. But the conditions contained in the nine points themselves and the subsequent actions of the Nixon administration have made it clear this is not the case at all.

Just after Hanoi announced the nine points, Washington carried out one of the most massive airlifts in history to bolster the Saigon regime's military capacity. The Saigon air force was transformed overnight into the third largest in the world. Plans were laid to replace U.S. troops in Vietnam with thousands of "civilian advisers."

Nixon pressed for clearer language in the accord that would give even greater legitimacy to the Saigon regime, reduce or eliminate the PRG's claim to legitimacy, and make it "illegal" for troops from the North to remain in the South.

Then Nixon brutally underlined the meaning of keeping the bombers in Thailand and Guam and in carriers off the coast of Vietnam. The recent terror bombing threatens North Viet-

Continued on page 22



## Final tally gives Jenness 68,226 votes

# Returns show unfair handling of SWP vote

By JUDY UHL

More than a quarter of a million radical votes were cast in the 1972 presidential elections, according to the vote totals for the Socialist Workers, Communist, Socialist Labor, and People's Party candidates. This total is an increase over 1968, when approximately 178,000 votes were tabulated for the parties to the left of the Democrats and Republicans.

A total of 68,226 votes were recorded for the Socialist Workers Party presidential candidates or for presidential electors pledged to the SWP ticket. This was higher than the total the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party or the Communist Party received.

Of course, not all the votes cast for the candidates of smaller parties are counted. In some cases the votes are simply "lost" by election officials. Other states discard write-in votes for president because their undemocratic election laws do not permit such votes. And, in the case of the Socialist Workers tally, the hostility of state officials in Ohio and in Arizona is preventing the SWP vote from being included in the "official" results.

In Arizona, Secretary of State Wesley Bolin has ruled that the votes cast for candidates listed on the ballot as "Socialist Workers" presidential electors could not be counted as votes for Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. He argues that since Jenness and Pulley were not listed on the ballot with the electors, there was no presidential candidate to whom the electors' votes could be credited.

Bolin failed to mention that he himself had ordered the listing of the electors without Jenness and Pulley, on

or Republican presidential elector slate, and also for the Socialist Workers electors. In their biased version of what happened, the officials implied that all the votes recorded for the SWP in Pima County were simply a mistake on the part of voters who had intended to vote for either of the two major party candidates.

The Associated Press, in its compilation of the vote results, listed no votes for the SWP in Arizona. United Press International, on the other hand, counted the officially recorded 30,945 Arizona votes for the SWP in its nationwide round-up.

*The Militant* has listed 1,915 votes, or the total vote cast for the Socialist Workers candidates outside Pima County. There is no way to determine how many socialist votes were deliberately cast in Tucson, one of the largest cities in the state.

The SWP is considering legal action against the state of Arizona for their handling of the socialist vote.

*The Militant* has not listed any votes for the SWP in Ohio, where the SWP ticket was ruled off the ballot because Linda Jenness was "too young" to run for president.

But by the time the courts decided the case against Jenness, many counties had already printed ballots with her name on them. Since some counties did not remove the SWP candidate from the ballots, thousands of voters cast their votes for the socialist alternative.

The day after the election, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* reported that 9,773 votes were recorded for Jenness and Pulley in Cuyahoga County. To our knowledge, however, these figures are the only ones that were publicly reported.

Impressive vote totals for the SWP came from the states of Texas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. This was the first time the SWP had qualified for ballot status in these states.

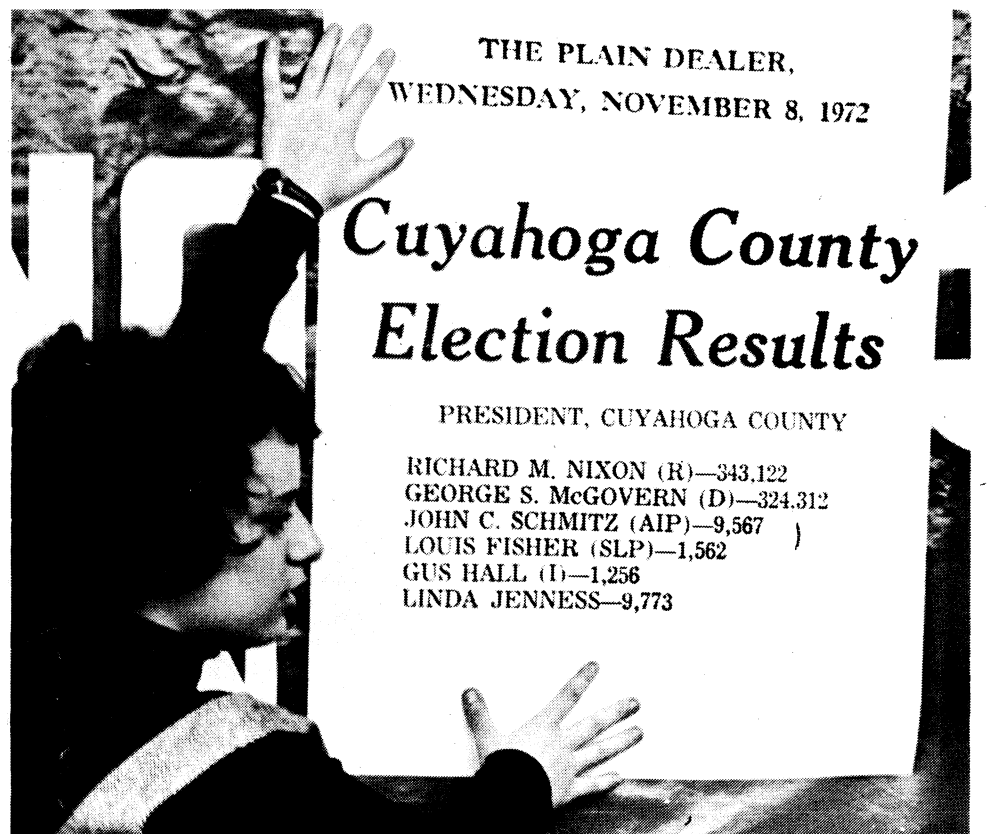
Previous vote totals for SWP presidential tickets were as follows: 1948—13,613; 1952—10,306; 1956—7,987; 1960—39,541; 1964—32,705; 1968—41,389.

For the first time in 32 years, the Communist Party sought ballot status in a large number of states for its national ticket. While the CP was unsuccessful in achieving a place on the ballot in many states due to the difficulty of meeting the restrictive election laws, its candidates were officially listed in 13 states and the District of Columbia. In 1968, the CP was on only two state ballots and got 1,175 votes. In 1972, the official count for Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, the CP candidates, was 25,595.

This was far below the predictions of Gus Hall, who stated several times during his campaign that he would be satisfied if his vote were higher than that of the other left parties. The CP finished last among the radical parties in every state except Wisconsin, where the CP vote was higher than that of the SWP, and New York and Iowa, where the CP outpolled the SLP but not the SWP.

The People's Party, a loose, heterogeneous coalition of state groups, ran Benjamin Spock, well-known pediatrician and peace activist. He tallied 78,801 votes.

Spock picked up nearly 80 percent of his vote in California, where he ran on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. No other radical party appeared in the California ballot. California ballot laws are the most restrictive in the country, and Spock was able to qualify only as a result of Peace and Freedom's automatic ballot spot in the state.



Robbie Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, displays enlarged reproduction of Cleveland newspaper's initial report of election returns. In later editions Jenness's vote was listed as zero.

The significant Spock vote was apparently due more to his personal reputation among the voters than to the strength of the People's Party. His campaigners were only able to muster enough support before the election to meet ballot requirements in ten states.

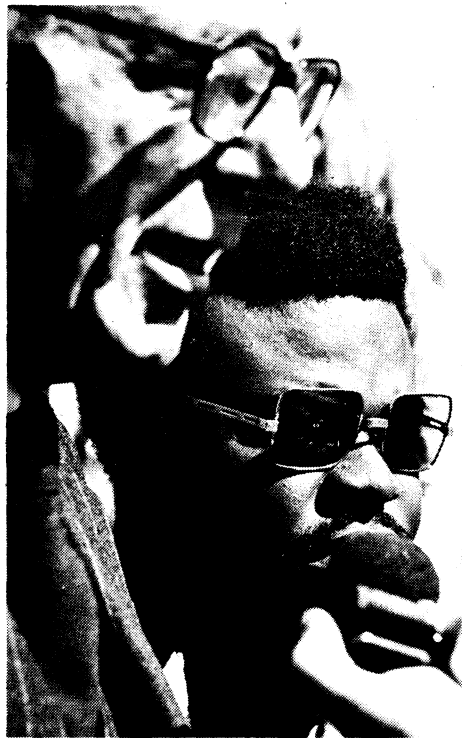
In addition to the large vote for the SWP presidential ticket, many local candidates did very well. In Massachusetts, SWP senatorial candidate Don Gurewitz captured 41,369 votes, or 2 percent of the total vote for senator.

In Texas, SWP candidates running against Democrats, with no Republican opponents, polled as many as 90,000 votes. Alice Conner, running on the SWP ticket for U.S. Senate in a special Georgia election, polled 1 percent of the vote, according to

the *Atlanta Constitution*. And in Minneapolis, Bill Peterson, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from the 5th C.D., won 4,071 votes, 2.2 percent of the total.

Twenty-three states had no radical presidential candidates on the ballot. In eleven more states, only one radical party managed to qualify. These statistics point to the need to continue an all-out fight against the unconstitutional and restrictive ballot laws that exist throughout the country.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which was organized during the 1972 campaign, will be continuing to work for fair elections, and should be supported by all those who favor breaking the two-party monopoly on elections in this country.



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

Andrew Pulley (r), SWP vice-presidential candidate, and Benjamin Spock of the People's Party answer reporters' questions while campaigning at Fort Dix, N.J., Army base. The SWP joined with the People's Party and Communist Party in challenging undemocratic election procedures in a number of states.

the flimsy grounds that the SWP was not a recognized party in Arizona and thus the SWP presidential ticket could not be recognized! Several states list only the names of the presidential electors.

The Arizona vote was muddled by the slipshod handling of the ballots in Tucson's Pima County. According to press reports, election officials claimed that ballot instructions were unclear and that thousands of people had cast votes for either a Democrat

## Vote returns of radical parties

	CP-Hall	SLP-Fisher	SWP-Jenness	PP-Spock
Arizona			1,915	
California	373*	197*	574*	55,167
Colorado	432	4,361	666	2,403
D. C.	252		316	
Idaho			397	903
Illinois	4,541	12,344		
Indiana		1,688	5,575	4,544
Iowa	272	195	488	
Kentucky	464		685	1,118
Louisiana			14,398	
Massachusetts	46*	129*	10,600	101*
Michigan	1,210	2,437	1,603	
Minnesota	662	4,261	940	2,855
Mississippi			2,458	
New Hampshire			368	
New Jersey	1,263	4,544	2,233	5,355
New Mexico			474	
New York	5,641	4,530	7,797	
North Dakota	87		288	
Ohio	6,437	7,107		
Pennsylvania	2,686		4,639	
Rhode Island			729	
South Dakota			994	
Texas			8,664	
Vermont			296	1,010
Virginia		9,918		
Washington	566	1,102	623	2,644
Wisconsin	663	998	506	2,701
TOTALS	25,595	53,811	68,226	78,801

\*denotes an official write-in vote. These are the only official write-in votes received to date.

"The bombing is designed to obliterate North Vietnam's ability to function as a state" -- U.S. government official/December 1972



# World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

JANUARY 12, 1973

## Soviet dissident questions report of Yakir betrayal

By Marilyn Vogt

Appearing on this page is the first direct response from activists in the Soviet opposition movement to the rumors widely published in the world press early in December that Pyotr Yakir, prominent Soviet dissident Communist, had recanted.

This statement, issued by Yuri Shtein, a member of the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, clearly contradicts basic aspects of the rumor and raises serious doubts about its truth.

Yakir, who was instrumental in the formation in May 1969 of the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, has undergone five months of interrogation in the notorious Lefortovo prison in Moscow. He was arrested on June 21 and was reportedly facing trial under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda").

During the first week of December, Moscow correspondents for major Western newspapers and wire services reported that Yakir had renounced his activities against the Soviet bureaucracy's suppression of democratic rights and called for the dissolution of the democratic opposition movement. (See *The Militant*, December 29.)

The reports that Yakir had recanted spoke of twenty-five people being called in for questioning by the KGB (secret police) as a result of Yakir's

"cooperation with Soviet authorities." Some of these people had allegedly met with Yakir in officially supervised "Confrontations," during which Yakir had supposedly "confessed his errors of the past and acknowledged his guilt."

Yakir's daughter, Irina, also an activist in the democratic opposition movement, supposedly reported similar statements by Yakir to her family after a visit with Yakir in prison.

One report stated that Yakir had confessed to being an editor of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a samizdat journal that has appeared bi-monthly since 1968, reporting the activities of the democratic opposition movement and the arrests and trials of dissidents. The Kremlin bureaucrats have sought to crush the *Chronicle* in a year-long campaign of repression and intimidation, an effort that has been juridically dressed up as "Case No. 24" of the Moscow Court.

Yakir, the reports asserted, would be presented as a key witness in a "show trial" being planned by the Kremlin. His public "confessions" would supposedly implicate a large number of other dissidents in "anti-Soviet" activities.

Yuri Shtein, who has worked closely with Yakir, is now in New York. In the Soviet Union Shtein had been a director of documentary films, but lost his job after protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In early 1972 he was one of several dissidents who were offered a choice

of prison or exile by the KGB. Shtein left the Soviet Union in March and since then has issued statements of protest against the Kremlin's intensifying campaign of repression.

Some background information on persons mentioned in Shtein's state-

ment is necessary.

He spoke with Zinaida Grigorenko, whose husband, former Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, was a close associate of Yakir and, like Yakir, was a dissident Communist. Although com-

*Continued on following page*

### In defense of Pyotr Yakir

[The following statement, entitled "In Defense of Yakir," was issued by Yuri Shtein, a member of the Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. It was published in a New York Russian-language newspaper, *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. The translation is by Carol Lisker.]

The *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* of December 12 featured an extensive commentary on a report by the *New York Times*'s Moscow correspondent about the well-known dissident Pyotr Yakir "allegedly breaking down under interrogation and divulging to the authorities the identity of his comrades in struggle against the regime." The article appeared on the front page under the sensational banner headline "Crushing Defeat for Dissidents in the USSR," with the no less dramatic subheadings "Yakir Betrays Fighters for Democratization of the Regime," and "Betrayed 25 People."

Such categorical statements, based upon the very vague assumptions of the *New York Times*, prompted me to doubt the authenticity of the information that had been received. That same evening I tried to telephone some of the more well-informed and authoritative persons in dissident circles in Moscow. I managed to reach Zinaida Mikhailovna, the wife of the much-victimized General Pyotr Grigorenko.

In response to my question as to the truth regarding the terrible suspicions that have fallen on Yakir, she replied: "It is to certain people's advantage to circulate these hideous rumors. The investigation is not yet over—who could know something like this? I consider these rumors to be so disturbing that I cannot find words to express it."

In my conversation with Zinaida Grigorenko I also learned that Yakir's daughter, Irina, to whom

the correspondents have referred, had in fact met with her father, but that their conversation had concerned only everyday family matters. Irina is ill and is expecting a child any day. And there was no discussion between them about her father supposedly turning over his friends and co-thinkers to the state security organs.

After the conversation with Zinaida Grigorenko I managed to speak with another reliable figure in the dissident circles, a person who is close to Yakir's family. In my conversation with him I tried to ascertain the degree of truth in the correspondents' reports that Yakir had betrayed his friends and that twenty-five people had been called in for questioning, as well as their reports about the origins of the gossip and rumors that had served as a source for this information.

It turns out that not twenty-five people but only three were summoned for questioning: Yakir's daughter, Irina; Elena Kosterina, and Andrei Dubrov. Moreover, it is definitely established that Yakir's daughter met with Yakir, and presumably Dubrov did also. Kosterina did not see him.

Rumors about Yakir's conduct during the investigation may have come from Dubrov, who has been behaving in a somewhat strange manner. Dubrov has found himself in a tangled situation: On the eve of his departure for Israel, his visa was suddenly revoked; he was placed in a psychiatric hospital; and there were threats that a criminal case would be started against him. Then, just as suddenly, he was let out of the hospital.

In the light of all this I don't quite understand how the Western correspondents in Moscow could present their information in such a sensational manner.

Yuri Shtein  
Initiative Group in Defense of Human Rights in the USSR



Pyotr Yakir (l) visiting another Soviet civil rights advocate, Victor Krasin, in exile in Siberia in 1970.



## Argentina: Development of a revolutionary socialist movement

[The following interview with Juan Carlos Coral was obtained for *The Militant* earlier this year. We are running it for the information of our readers because of the increased interest in Argentine politics accompanying the return of former president Juan Perón to Argentina. Coral is a central leader of the Argentine Socialist Workers Party (formerly called the Argentine Socialist Party — PSA).

[Last spring the PSA was able to register 33,000 people as members to satisfy government conditions for participation as a legal party in the elections scheduled for March 1973. The PSA called on other working-class and socialist groups in Argentina to join in its election campaign as a Workers and Socialist Pole in opposition to all procapitalist candidates in the elections.]

*Q: Why is the Argentine military government planning to hold elections next year?*

A: The elections are a maneuver by the capitalist class to maintain the status quo. In Argentina the bourgeoisie swings like a pendulum between concessions and repression. When "representative" democracy is not effective in controlling the mass movement, the armed forces enter the scene to make the necessary correctives to maintain the rule of the capitalists.

But sometimes violent repression does not work; the ruling class is unable to control the workers movement or suppress it. Then they turn to their other alternative, which is to offer elections as a legal safety valve to try to placate the masses for a time, until the rulers decide once again to make a military coup.

We are witnessing this oscillation of the capitalist class today. Despite its procapitalist, Peronist leadership, the workers movement has reached such levels that it tends to break out of the control of the union bureaucracy, a bureaucracy that attempts to restrain the masses and that is integrated with the state apparatus.

Under these conditions the capitalist class has found it appropriate to open the safety valves. That's all.

When [Arturo] Illia was president [from 1963-1966], the capitalist class feared the Peronist movement would sweep the next elections. Despite the bourgeois nature of the Peronist movement and the bureaucratic nature of its leadership, the rulers feared that under the impact of a Peronist electoral victory, the pro-Peronist mass movement might develop a dynamic that would get out of their control. So they decided in favor of a coup and [Juan Carlos] Onganía came to power.

But with the new rise in workers struggles, as represented by the Cordobazo [a massive workers uprising in Córdoba in 1969], the ruling class began to look toward a return to an electoral course. Onganía was thrown out and Levingston came in, who in turn was thrown out by Lanusse.

Lanusse suddenly appeared to be for democracy—as though the armed forces had been converted overnight to democratic ideals. Now all the politicians—who had nothing to say about the military dictatorship while the ruling class favored it—join with the army in what they call the "Hour of the People." And there you will find the Peronists and the Radicals, the two major civilian forces calling for a democratic solution.

*Q: Does the ruling class still fear an electoral victory of the Peronists?*

A: Under the impact of the working-class advance, which is breaking out of the control of the bureaucracy, the rulers can no longer afford rifts within their own ranks. Thus they seek to close ranks for the electoral maneuver. All the so-called progressive wings of the capitalist class—the so-called nationalist wings—disappear in the hour of crisis.

Perón is the key to the electoral solution for the capitalist class because he is the last bourgeois figure with

popular support among the workers. Their goal is to use Perón's popularity as a brake on the masses.

But the mass movement makes it difficult for Perón to come to an agreement with Lanusse and still maintain his popularity. We are bound to see oscillations in Perón's position and a growing crisis among his followers.

*Q: What is the position of the Communist Party?*

A: The traditional land owners; the Radicals-of-the-People, with their base in the middle class; the Frondizists, representing modern sectors of the capitalist class and of foreign monopolies that are penetrating our country; and the Peronists—all these sectors are united. The opportunist left, the Communist Party, through the National Encounter of Argentines [Encuentro Nacional de los Argentinos—ENA], has officially declared that the solution is to join in the Civic Front with the ruling class.

The CP wishes to create a popular front through the ENA but they have only united with a handful of "leaders" of bourgeois parties.

Except for the front of the bourgeoisie with the opportunists and reformists of the left, there is nothing else besides the front we in the PSA propose—the Socialist Pole—to combat them.

*Q: What is the Socialist Pole?*

A: I believe the Socialist Pole is the correct response to the present situation. Class lines are becoming clear. On the one hand, the capitalist class is uniting, and on the other hand, the workers, through the Socialist Pole, are confronting them.

As I pointed out, the rank-and-file workers are questioning the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy. Now they are beginning to question Perón, as they see he is acting as an instrument of the armed forces and the capitalist class in general. This is creating a scattering of the Peronist workers. The

Socialist Pole can begin to politically regroup those on the left who seek a class-struggle alternative.

In the recent period we have seen a growth of the left. There are many individuals who are beginning to support a class-struggle line and who are not affiliated to any organization.

The Argentine Socialist Party went through a series of splits, internal rebellions, and frustrating experiences, and has really begun anew. Today we have a clear line and a correct interpretation of the national situation.

So we have a convergence of these two forces—the socialist vanguard and the Peronist rank and file. The socialists who have broken with previous revisionist and opportunist functioning to become an organized vanguard with a clear class-struggle line, and the newly awakening rank and file of the Peronist movement, which



Juan Carlos Coral

has been held back by the Peronist bureaucracy.

Thus the call for a Socialist Pole is not an artificial slogan but reflects the development of a new vanguard stemming from the masses themselves.

*Q: Is the Socialist Pole a concept strictly for the elections? How does it relate to your other activity?*

A: The objective of our utilization of legality is to reach broader layers of the working class than we could under conditions of illegality. This permits us to strengthen our organization and influence in the working class.

Since, as I have said, the elections are simply a safety valve for the capitalist class, it follows that our present legality is quite precarious. It is quite

## ...Yakir

*Continued from preceding page*

pletely sane, Grigorenko has been confined for more than three years in a Soviet psychiatric hospital-prison because of his activities in defense of democracy in the Soviet Union.

Elena Kosterina is the daughter of Aleksei Kosterin, a longtime Bolshevik who was an active antibureaucratic fighter from the time he was freed from Stalin's camps in the mid 1950s until his death in 1968. Kosterina has signed many of the protest state-

ments of the democratic movement in recent years. For her actions she was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party in May 1972 and lost her job. In June 1972 her home was searched in connection with Case No. 24.

Andrei Dubrov, 22 years old, was one of the fifty-one signers of an appeal in defense of Yakir submitted in June to the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party. One June 30, Dubrov sent his own appeal on Yakir's behalf to the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and to the editor of the London *Times*.

Dubrov's home was also searched in May 1972 in connection with Case No. 24. He was taken in for questioning at that time. In late October, just a few days after he had been given

an exit visa for Israel (he is not Jewish), his visa was revoked and he was placed in a mental hospital. After threatening to press criminal charges against him, the authorities finally released him. Dubrov himself has issued no statement in his own name telling what transpired during his meeting with Yakir in prison, if he had one at all.

The information in Shtein's statement raises several important questions regarding the source of this rumor about Yakir. The Moscow correspondents who transmitted it around the world cited their sources as "reliable circles." One correspondent stated that the information was "circulating among dissident groups" in Moscow. Did these correspondents attempt to verify the information be-

fore making it sensational news?

Zinaida Grigorenko's report that Yakir's daughter, Irina, was about to give birth and was not well might indicate that Western reporters were not able to contact her directly to verify the statements attributed to her in the rumor. But the role of the *New York Times* and its Moscow correspondent, Hedrick Smith, in promoting this story has a curious aspect to it.

Shtein told the New York-based Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners that he submitted to the *New York Times* a statement containing the same data as the one submitted to and published in *Novoye Russkoe Slovo* and that the *New York Times* refused to publish it. If this is so, what are the *Time's* editors' reasons? Are they afraid the Kremlin would

possible that we will never have the elections. But if tomorrow there is a coup, we would be satisfied by the work we have been able to do in the past twenty days because of legality. Naturally we do not believe that legality is the path to victory.

After the Cuban revolution a polemic occurred that resulted in a fundamental division of the PSA and other sectors of the left. The division was based on two antagonistic alternatives: the road of insurrection or the road of superficial work. After the Cuban revolution there was a debate over this in the PSA. Some members proposed that the party convert itself into a detachment of guerrillas, and the other sector believed in electoral work pure and simple.

We came to the recognition that the insurrectional road and the utilization of legal opportunities permitted by the capitalist class are not two antagonistic paths, but rather are complementary.

I say all of this in order to answer your question about in what sense we are organizing for the elections. It is not to build a social democratic party, or to go to parliament to improve the budget and lower the national debt.

*Q: Then you do not believe it is possible to take power through elections?*

A: Of course not, absolutely. In the early years of Marxism this was a truism, but today we have to reaffirm it as a basic position.

*Q: Who do you believe has the power, then, in Chile?*

A: The capitalist class. In Chile there has been no fundamental change; even the Socialists will not deny this. They do not really control the government or the parliament; they don't have the judicial power or the cabinet. They have neither the power nor the government.

*Q: Does the PSA support the Cuban revolution?*

A: We have supported it since its triumph and up to now.

We participated in the OLAS [Organization of Latin-American Solidarity] conference [held in August 1967], but we opposed the foco theory [of guerrilla warfare], which was quite popular then. We argued against it by specifically citing the conditions in Argentina.

Today we have criticisms of Cuba; for instance, the trip Fidel Castro took to Chile—which was disgraceful. Also the solidarity the Cubans extended to

expel their Moscow correspondent for having too close contact with the Yakir family if he were to check with Irina directly?

The *New York Times* has played a significant role in publicizing Yakir's alleged recantation. In his December 11 article, Hedrick Smith accepted the rumor as true and commented extensively on its demoralizing effect on the Soviet democratic movement, but gave no authoritative source for his information. Surely he owes it to his readers to print what Irina Yakir, Elena Kosterina, and Zinaida Grigorenko have to say now on this subject. Or does the *New York Times* have its own reasons for downplaying the Soviet democratic movement and publicizing its "disarray"?

As Zinaida Grigorenko implied in

the Peruvian government has added an element of confusion.

*Q: What are the differences between the PSA (Coral) and the PSA (Selser)?*

A: To explain that I must refer back to the split in 1958 that resulted in the formation of the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the Argentine Socialist Party (PSA). The PSD was a classical social democratic current. We in the PSA favored the formation of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party.

The PSD entered the Union Democrática [Democratic Union], which includes some of the most reactionary sectors of the oligarchy.

But a residue of social democracy was left in the PSA and it was expressed again in the party. This led to a split in 1966. The left wing, with the support of the youth, formally had a majority, but the right wing maneuvered to expel us. That is why we still contest the name Argentine Socialist Party.

When the ideological struggle broke out inside the PSA, we first suffered a split of a group called Socialismo de Vanguardia [Vanguard Socialism]. That group had everything in it—pro-Chinese, pro-Moscow, nationalists, and some Peronists. One grouplet joined the CP and another still exists today as the Maoist organization.

The last split in the PSA occurred when the left wing won the internal party elections. Social democrats carry out elections like the capitalist class does—they abide by them only if they win, so they can run things legally. If they lose, they make a coup. The social democrats are so bourgeoisified that they copy the bourgeois electoral methods. We won the elections and were expelled forthwith. We demanded a party congress. But then came the Onganía coup [in 1966], and we ended up with two PSAs.

*Q: When did the PSA first adopt a position of no support to any sector of the capitalist class?*

A: After the split of 1958 we held a convention in 1960 that decided against support to the national bourgeoisie and called for a Workers Front. There was a discussion at that time over whether [Arturo] Frondizi [president of Argentina from 1958-1962] represented the progressive wing of the capitalist class. Some thought we should support Frondizi, but our call for a Workers Front ruled out a bloc with any sector of the capitalist class. In 1967 we reaffirmed this position, and by then there was unanimity. □

her statement, rumors of this sort are themselves a means for intimidating the Soviet opposition movement because they deliberately revive memories of the Moscow Purge Trials in the thirties. There is a distinct smell of KGB rumor mills behind the story of Yakir's recantation.

But the very fact that the story has been so widely publicized makes it easier for the KGB to go ahead and try to break Yakir's will—in order to prove that the stories were true. Worse yet, they could decide to take measures to prevent Yakir's ever giving his own account of what prompted these rumors.

Energetic protests are called for demanding that Yakir be freed immediately and that there be no repetition of the Moscow Trials. □

# World news notes

## Krivine debates Gaullist on French TV

French television viewers had a rare opportunity on December 13. On that day the French TV, which is run by a government agency, the ORTF (Office de Radiodiffusion et Télévision Française—Office of French Radio and Television), presented a two-hour debate between a revolutionary socialist and a Gaullist deputy. Alain Krivine, member of the political bureau of the Communist League and the League's presidential candidate in the 1968 French elections, debated Bernard Stasi, a member of the National Assembly and of the UDR (Union pour la Défense de la République—Union for Defense of the Republic).

Krivine and Stasi appeared on the program "A armes égales," meaning "on equal terms." It is one of the most popular programs on French television, with an estimated audience of some 16 million.

Krivine used his time to explain basic Marxist ideas about the exploitative nature of the capitalist system and to expose the injustice of capitalist courts and repressive apparatus, as well as the corruption in government, in parliament, and in the capitalist-controlled mass media. He displayed some 50 documents that had come into possession of the Communist League, revealing secret police plans for surveillance of leftists, students, and trade unionists, as well as evidence of fraud in past French elections. For example, he showed photos of tombstones of dead persons recorded as having voted for the Gaullist party, the UDR.

The debate received widespread coverage and comment in all the major French newspapers.

## Mao's birthday ignored in China

Since the "Great Cultural Revolution" of the late 1960s the bureaucratic regime in Peking has apparently been trying to eliminate some of the most blatant forms of the personality cult of Mao Tse-tung—without, however, explaining how such a monstrous practice arose in the first place. According to a dispatch from Peking in the December 27 *New York Post*, the 79th birthday of Chairman Mao, December 26, was not celebrated or acknowledged in any public way in Peking. The *People's Daily*, organ of the Communist party, did not even mention the occasion.

## Equal pay for Australian women

On December 15 the commission that sets wage rates in Australia ruled that women must receive equal pay for equal work by June of 1975. The increase is to be paid in stages, one-third at a time, beginning by December 31, 1973. Equal pay for women was a key plank in the election program of the Labor party, which won the December 2 Australian national elections.

A spokesman for the National Employers Policy Committee immediately threatened that prices would be raised to absorb the expense.

To dramatize the injustice of wage discrimination against women, feminist groups had staged protests by riding public buses but refusing to pay the full fare.

## Israeli police arrest 46 as 'spies'

On December 11 Israeli police claimed to have discovered a spy and sabotage ring operating in Israel and cooperating with Syrian intelligence. By the end of that week 46 suspects had been arrested, including four Israeli Jews. Israeli police claim that the four are members of the Revolutionary Communist Union, a small group that allegedly split from the Trotskyist organization known by the name of its newspaper, Matzpen (Compass).

This was the first time that Israeli Jews have been arrested for uniting on ideological grounds to aid an Arab state. As such, the incident created an uproar in the Israeli press and parliament. Dismayed by the prospect of Israeli Jews turning against the Zionist government and siding with the oppressed Arab peoples, a right-wing member of parliament charged that "these so-called progressives who malign our national values are more harmful than a whole division of Egyptian soldiers."

Meanwhile, the Israeli Defense Ministry announced December 23 that since the 1967 war Israel convicted 1,610 Arabs from the occupied territories of sabotage or support to guerrilla organizations. The Zionist regime also admitted that it currently holds 148 Arabs in "administrative detention," which means imprisonment without trial.

The announcement was in answer to a report issued by the Union of Liberal Students in Britain, which charged that 4,000 Palestinians had been jailed and 10,000 held without trial since the war. The Israeli official denied the student report's assertion that many Arab prisoners had been tortured, and said that he didn't have any figures available on the total number of Arabs held in detention since the June war.

**'Injustices must be corrected'**

## Soviet Germans demand a republic

[One of the results of the West German-Soviet détente that was initiated by Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik* has been the easing of emigration restrictions on the Soviet-German population. The consequent increased resettlement has brought the Soviet Germans to world attention.

[According to the 1970 census, there are nearly 2 million Soviet-Germans; they constitute one of the USSR's many national minorities. Some 40,000, or about 2 percent of this population, have reportedly asked to leave the Soviet Union for West Germany.

[But the vast majority of Soviet-Germans intend to remain in the Soviet Union. Like many other Soviet nationalities, they have been victims of Stalin's violation of the Leninist policy on the national question. In recent years they have begun to stir against their continuing oppression.

[The Soviet-Germans originally inhabited the Volga region, where some 27,000 of them settled in the late eighteenth century. In 1916, during the first world war, the czar ordered them deported to central Russia. But the October Revolution blocked the implementation of that decree.

[The Leninist government recognized the Volga Germans as a national group, and in 1918 some 200 German villages with about 500,000 inhabitants were grouped into an "autonomous workers' commune." In 1924, the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Volga Germans was founded. Apart from the Volga Republic, seventeen other areas of the Soviet Union were designated German "national districts."

[After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Stalin, aping the czar, dissolved the Volga Republic and ordered the population deported to Soviet Asia. Thousands were interned in concentration camps; all German officials were purged from the party; the population was collectively characterized as potential Nazis on the grounds that they were German. Like the Crimean Tatars and other nationalities, they were sacrificed on the altar of Stalin's Great Patriotic War.

[In 1964, Khrushchev issued a decree absolving the Volga Germans of the charge that they were Nazi sympathizers. But the Volga Republic was not reestablished, and most of the German population remains in Kazakhstan, in central Asia.

[In 1965, a delegation of Soviet-Germans met with Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan, who was then Soviet head of state, to discuss the possibility of re-creating the republic. The following are excerpts from a transcript of that meeting, which has recently become available through the underground *samizdat* press. It appeared, in German translation, in the December 4 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, from which we have taken it. The participants are identified only by last names. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

*Schessler*: We have already appealed

repeatedly to the Central Committee [of the Communist party] and to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet for the reestablishment of our republic, but we have received no concrete response. The charges against us have been lifted, but the penalties remain in force.

During the civil war we fought for Soviet power at the side of the Russian people, and this land was given to us by law. The rural areas of this territory are now only 25 to 30 percent settled. Most of the villages lie in ruins. For a genuine rehabilitation,



Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan

the Volga Republic must be reestablished. Only such a step would free us from the disgrace and distrust that is now our lot.

*Wormsbecher*: Up until the war the republic of the Volga Germans was one of the most advanced republics, both economically and culturally. But what is the area like now? All together we have only two newspapers. There is not a single German school. Such conditions were not even imposed on us in czarist Russia. All the peoples of the Soviet Union are entitled to their own states, but not the Soviet Germans. This legitimately raises the question, Are we a Soviet people?

*Kaiser*: Elementary logic dictates that the innocent should not be punished. After a forcible expulsion, people do not put down real roots. Territory for the reestablishment of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Volga Germans is available. It was given to us through the great October Revolution; it is where the Germans founded Soviet power, and where Lenin in the October 19, 1918, decree established the first autonomous German republic in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republics.

*Welz*: We once had five high schools, 400 elementary and secondary schools, a national theater, a publishing house, five interregional and twenty regional newspapers and journals. Now we don't have a single school. We have but one newspaper, published

in Moscow. But no Germans work on it; they aren't trusted. Even though we were not allowed to fight against the fascists, two Volga Germans who fell at the front were named Heroes of the Soviet Union. Some German families have been resettled as many as six or eight times.

*Bersch*: It's not just some little group of Germans that wants the republic reestablished. If we could collect signatures, we could bring in a million of them. In spite of the persecution, we have not lost our faith in the party or the government.

*Mikoyan*: . . . I think enough has been said on this subject. It is incontestable that during and after the war Soviet Germans suffered injustices and that they still do. They work hard. Management of the virgin lands [in Kazakhstan] would be impossible without the Germans. The Germans have been completely rehabilitated.

You raise the question of reestablishing a republic. We understand very well that this would be the best solution to the problem. But it is not possible, because half a million people would have to be resettled. We cannot correct everything that has happened in the course of history. No one confuses you with the West Germans. You are Soviet citizens and have the right to newspapers, schools. But in the present situation, the republic cannot be reestablished, because that would entail monstrous economic losses. As far as cultural needs are concerned, we can work something out.

Some offenses are still committed because there are people in the apparatus who do not follow the rules. If you come across examples of what you could call mistreatment, inform one of the comrades here. [The meeting was also attended by CP Central Committee Secretary Shelepin.] We will take care of it. I wish you success. Good-bye.

### Letter of the German Delegation Written After the Meeting

. . . We are in no way satisfied with the results of this meeting. The people did not send us to play games with the government, but to achieve the complete rehabilitation of two million people, the establishment of their equal rights with other citizens of the USSR, and the reestablishment of their right to form a state. . . .

A purely utilitarian attitude toward the Soviet Germans was displayed; their national hopes were ignored. Lenin's policy on the national question was not applied to the Soviet Germans because that "might entail economic losses."

We are Soviet people, Communists, and not deviationists. We do not need some kind of national autonomy in cultural matters, but our own state institutions. Since its foundation, the German Democratic Republic has received every attention and assistance from the USSR, but the Soviet-Germans are left to carry the moral burden of the war. You would think that the fascists were not in Germany, but among the Soviet Germans. . . . What would have been your life's goal, Anastas Ivanovich, if one black day the all-powerful Beria had banished the Armenians? [Mikoyan is Armenian.]

What do you mean by saying that not all history's injustices can be corrected? Yes, injustices against people who are dead, against those who have been senselessly killed—those cannot be corrected. But Soviet power lives, and will live! And so long as a people that has been mistreated lives, injustices can and must be corrected. □

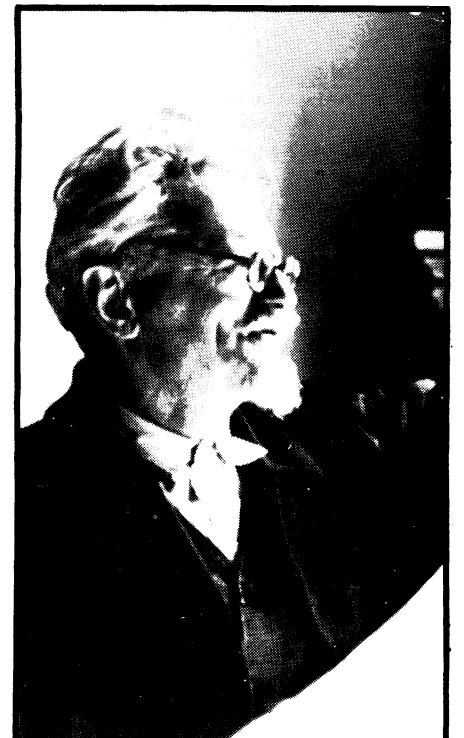
### Aid to Solzhenitsyn

Screen writer Albert Maltz, and Pulitzer Prize-winning novelists Robert Penn Warren and Bernard Malamud have offered to turn over royalties from their works published in the Soviet Union to the dissident Soviet writer Alexandr Solzhenitsyn.

Maltz was blacklisted during the anti-communist witch-hunt in the 1950s. He offered his royalties to Solzhenitsyn "for his personal use and, if he so chooses, for financial aid to other Soviet writers also suffering blacklisting by having been expelled from the Writers Union."

Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union in 1969 because his works expose the narrow-minded, privileged bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union. Since then he has faced increasing harassment from the government, which has denied him housing and an income. On December 17 Solzhenitsyn accepted Maltz's offer, saying that his financial situation was "desperate."

The Soviet writer stated that he was "deeply touched" by Maltz's gesture of solidarity, but doubted that Soviet authorities would permit him to receive a "single kopeck."



- FOR GRYNSPAN: Against the Fascist Pogrom Gangs and Stalinist Scoundrels.
- Interview with the Copenhagen Social-Demokraten, 1932.
- Letter to the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition).
- How the Workers in Austria Should Fight Hitler.
- Polish Fascism and the Mistakes of the Communist party.

These are just a few of the articles and letters by Leon Trotsky that *Intercontinental Press* has published. Most were translated from the original Russian and appeared in the pages of *Intercontinental Press* for the first time in English.

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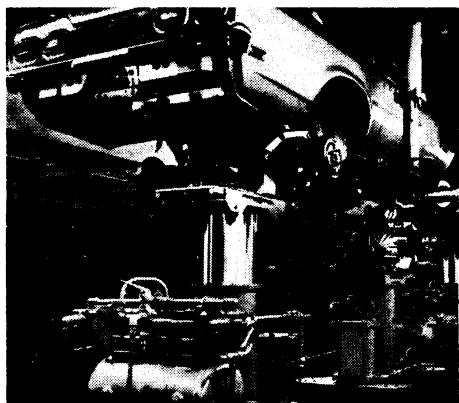




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# Auto industry drive to increase productivity



By DICK ROBERTS

On Dec. 6, Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of General Motors, attempted to defend GM's job policies in a speech to New York businessmen. "Today a subtle influence is at work in our country which threatens to increase the cost of labor even more," Gerstenberg declared.

"This influence is difficult to define," he said. "It is really rooted in the public's . . . lack of understanding . . . of the exceptionally high economic status of the American industrial worker."

Gerstenberg then singled out some of the "misconceptions" afloat in the land: "We read and hear much about 'blue-collar blues,' the drudgery and monotony of the modern assembly line, the younger and alienated work force, the lack of satisfaction men and women receive from their jobs. When blue-collar blues are discussed, the auto industry is often singled out as the seat of the problem, the assembly-line worker as the chief victim, and the new Vega plant at Lordstown as the case in point."

But all of this is wrong, according to GM's chief executive. ". . . the workers at Lordstown are not GM's youngest assembly work force; other plants have younger work forces and no long work stoppages. . . .

"The line speed of 100 cars per hour is not unprecedented. . . ."

Even "thoughtful scientific studies . . . show that whatever job dissatisfaction exists among American workers is not limited to blue-collar workers but is more widespread and afflicts office workers and service personnel as well. The 'blue-collar blues' . . . is a misnomer and, in fact, is less evident among those workers who work harder or faster. We get right back to the old adage that busy people are happy people."

And if this doesn't convince you, the average hourly wage of GM workers of \$5.09 "is more than a full one-third higher than the rate for the average American hourly worker in manufacturing. On an annual basis, the average GM hourly employee's gross earnings before taxes are \$12,466."

And at that rate, Gerstenberg could have added, if two GM workers work for 30 years, together they will earn almost as much as Gerstenberg gets in one year. Sixty years worth of wages for GM workers would total \$747,960. Gerstenberg's annual pay check is \$750,000.

## Productivity drive

Behind Gerstenberg's syrupy speech is the pressing concern of U.S. monopoly to increase productivity and better its position in world competition. The truth is American workers face a battery of pressures.

These include the antistrike, antiunion, and wage control policies of the government; high levels of unemployment as a result of recession; speed-up and other forms of job intensification; and the rationalization of industry, including the installing of more automated machinery and retiring obsolete plants. The central aim is making workers produce more goods faster, at less cost to the employers.

Joseph Godfrey, the general manager of the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD), which is charged with speeding up production, was considerably more blunt than his boss Gerstenberg, in a *New York Times* interview last April 16. "We have to compete with the foreigner," said Godfrey. "And to do that," the *Times* continued, "G.M.A.D. will have to continue to cut costs in all its plants."

According to the *Times*, the Lordstown workers are not the only ones who oppose GMAD. "The division's policies have brought labor unrest to almost every plant it has taken over."

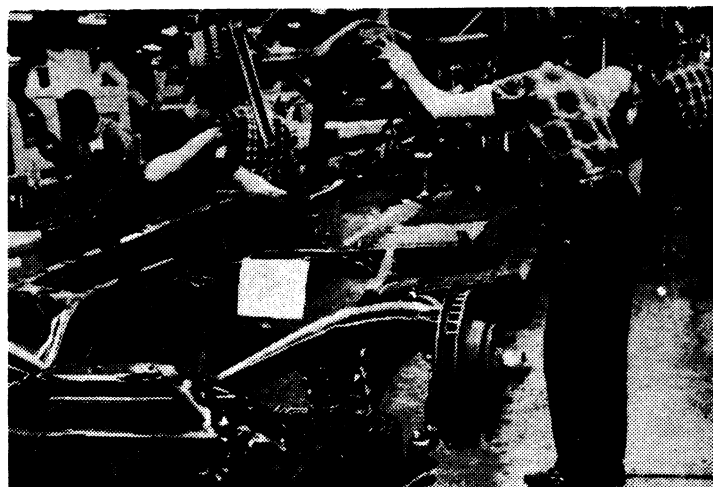
On Dec. 6, the *Wall Street Journal* devoted a front-page story to GMAD. The report was written from Norwood, Ohio, where 3,900 GM workers recently struck for 174 days, the longest walkout in GM history.

"Up until a few months ago," said the *Journal*, "Ernest Barnes's workday consisted of installing two bolts on the bumper of every Camaro, Firebird and Nova that came down the assembly line, 65 seconds apart, at the General Motors plant here. Despite the monotony of the task, the 36-year-old, red-bearded worker says he liked his job 'pretty much.'"

"Then, late last winter, Mr. Barnes had a change of heart. General Motors, he says, decided that his job was 'light' and 'eliminated the man across from me.' His supervisors, he adds, instructed him to thenceforth install four bolts on each car as well as to replenish his own stock, the latter being a new task. . . .

"According to Ernest Barnes, General Motors is demanding the impossible. According to General Motors, Ernest Barnes is, or should be, fully able to perform the newly defined job."

Most significant is the *Journal's* comment that "the dispute, far from being an isolated example, has parallels not only throughout the vast General Motors empire but also throughout American industry. Central to the worker-management division is the crucial question of whether a company can ask its factory employees for increased



output at a time when the nation's entire work ethic, and particularly the repetitiousness of assembly-line jobs, is being increasingly challenged."

## Investment plans

Side by side the intensification of labor on the job is the drive to modernize plants and equipment in order to cut unit labor costs. The Dec. 19 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "General Motors Corp. announced capital spending plans at record levels for next year. . . .

"In a year-end statement, Richard C. Gerstenberg, GM chairman, said GM has slated world-wide capital outlays of about \$1.3 billion next year, about the same amount it spent in its record capital spending year of 1965 and 30 percent above the \$1 billion being spent this year."

On Nov. 11, *Business Week* reported the figures for all of U.S. business. "The capital spending boom that got underway this year will continue—and expand—in 1973," *Business Week* stated. Total capital spending will reach \$89.09-billion in 1972 and increase 11 percent to \$98.55-billion in 1973, it estimated. Investment in autos, trucks, and parts will increase 23 percent between 1972 and 1973.

In an earlier survey published Dec. 2, *Business Week* noted the decrease in obsolescent plants and equipment as a result of the drive to modernize. In 1968, the autos, trucks, and parts industry reported 9 percent of their plants and equipment as obsolete. This had fallen to 6 percent in 1972.

The following table indicates the results of the productivity drive in the U.S. motor vehicle industry over the last four years. Employment in 1969 was a record high for the industry:

	Average monthly employment	Average monthly production (cars & trucks)
Jan.-June 1969	704,800	908,700
Jan.-June 1970	666,500	812,300
Jan.-June 1971	682,800	950,100
Jan.-June 1972	688,200	996,500

This data is based on *Employment and Earnings*, monthly publication of the U.S. Department of Labor, and *Survey of Current Business*, published monthly by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

They show that in the first six months of this year as compared to four years ago, 16,600 fewer workers produced 87,800 more trucks and cars per month. The number of 16,600 workers is small compared to the total employment in the industry, but the decrease is equivalent to several plants shutting down.

The first six months of 1970 were during the recession. From then through the first six months of 1972, production increased 22 percent while employment climbed only 3 percent.

The soaring profits that this resulted in were noted in the press. *Newsweek* reported Aug. 7 that for the first half-year, ". . . General Motor's earnings increased 28 per cent over a year ago, while Ford Motor's profits leaped by 43 per cent, Chrysler's earnings more than doubled and American Motors' jumped 99 per cent." *Business Week* estimated in its Aug. 12 issue that GM's profits in this period alone were \$1.4-billion.



## ADL refuses to retract charges

# N.Y. pickets protest anti-Semitism slander

By PETER SEIDMAN

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 — Sixty people picketed the offices of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith here today to publicize their demand that the ADL retract its charge that the Socialist Workers Party is anti-Semitic.

A delegation headed by Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate, met with ADL officials and presented them with an open letter signed by Professor Noam Chomsky, writer Murray Kempton, literary critic Dwight Macdonald, Rabbi A. Bruce Goldman, and others who supported this demand.

The letter said, "while we do not necessarily agree with the program and policies of the Socialist Workers Party, we believe that their opposition to Zionism cannot in any way be equated with anti-Semitism."

"We respect the right of the Socialist Workers Party and others to express their opinions about the situation in the Middle East without being unjustly attacked in this manner."

The open letter had been written in response to charges the ADL made Nov. 20 that the SWP 1972 presidential campaign, because of its opposition to Zionism and the state of Israel, had crossed the line into "outright anti-Semitism."

Jenness told the ADL officials that "anyone the least bit familiar with my election campaign and the views and record of the Socialist Workers Party knows that my party has always been a staunch opponent of anti-Semitism and of racism and bigotry of any kind. We have championed struggles against anti-Semitism wherever they have appeared—from the United States to the Soviet Union."

"Our European co-thinkers were in the forefront of the struggle against the anti-Semitic terror of Nazism. Many of them perished in Hitler's death camps. In this country the SWP carried out a campaign demanding that U. S. borders be opened to Jewish refugees from Nazism."

Jenness explained that the SWP "supports the Palestinians' struggle to regain their homeland and to establish a democratic, secular Palestine where Jews and Arabs can live together with equality and religious freedom. We believe that it is in the interests of Jews everywhere, including in Israel, to support this struggle."

"The ADL charges that the SWP calls for 'the outright destruction of Israel,' and is therefore anti-Semitic. We see the elimination of the Zionist state of Israel as necessary. But opposition to a specifically 'Jewish' state in Palestine cannot be equated with anti-Semitism."

The ADL officials told Jenness that they would not retract their charges. They issued a press statement reaffirming their characterization of the SWP as anti-Semitic.

The statement said: "It is the ADL view that Jewry the world over has a deep, abiding commitment to the survival of Israel. In the wake of the Nazi Holocaust, the question asked by a whole people, if not by the whole world—Where are the persecuted to go?—was answered in the birth of the long-promised Jewish state."

"Wherever they may be today, Jews overwhelmingly believe that, whatever legitimate controversies may exist in the Middle East and whatever the conflicting viewpoints between Israeli and Arab, Israel's existence as a sovereign state is absolutely non-negotiable."

"Manifestoes and propaganda cal-



Militant/Mark Satinoff

ling for the destruction or the dissolution of the Jewish state, are, therefore, direct assaults against world Jewry and, along with activities supporting those sworn to destroy Israel, constitute the ultimate anti-Semitism."

"The unabashed support given by the SWP and other radicals of the far left to Arab regimes that have waged war against Israel, or to revolutionary terrorists sworn to Israel's liquidation, are in essence a war against the security of the Jewish community. For just as Israel's security depends in large measure on support from the Jews in the United States and elsewhere,

Jews here and abroad have come to believe that their own security and their own hope for ultimate survival depends in large measure on the survival of Israel as a sovereign state."

The ADL representatives also presented Jenness with a report entitled "Danger on the Left," which they claimed documented their charges that the SWP was anti-Semitic.

After leaving the ADL offices, Jenness told the demonstrators that the SWP intended to answer all the charges the ADL made in its report and would continue its campaign to force the ADL to retract its slander.

# Atlanta Panthers describe cop harassment

By JOE COLE

ATLANTA—Atlanta city officials, including Mayor Sam Massell and Police Chief John Inman, have conducted a vicious campaign of harassment against the Black Panther Party since last September. Their stated purpose has been to eliminate the BPP—in the words of police officials, "to close up those hoodlums once and for all."

The tactics have run the gamut from sophisticated manipulation of the news and well-coordinated midnight raids by federal and local police agencies, to crude name calling and Keystone cop-like rock throwing at Panther community centers by police patrols.

In an interview with *The Militant*, local Panther leaders Ron Carter and Alton DeVille outlined the amazing series of actions this city's liberal Democratic administration has directed against their party and pointed to the motive behind the attacks.

Carter explained, "Atlanta has tried to portray itself as a city 'too busy to hate,' a haven for Black people in the South. This is the image they have gotten over to the rest of the country trying to get corporations to set up shop here."

Although the Panthers have undergone police attacks since they established themselves in Atlanta in September 1970, beginning in September of this year the attacks took on a more ominous character.

At the time the liberal *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution* began a series of front-page charges that the Black Panther Party was attempting to extort \$50,000 from chain food stores. These charges were echoed by the mayor's equally prominent re-

marks to the effect that the BPP was nothing more than "gangsters, fools, and extortionists."

Alton DeVille scored these charges as ridiculous. "We had been involved in negotiations with A&P for over three months prior to these charges, and the closest we had come to even mentioning an amount to them was to say that we wanted '\$10 worth of food or whatever they could afford to give' and that this would go to feed Black children in our Survival Centers."

"Then boom, as soon as we said we wanted to look at their books to see that they were bargaining in good faith, all the mess about extortion comes out in the papers and brothers start getting busted for selling our paper in the streets."

A month later another series of unsupported articles in the *Constitution* attacked the Panthers even more viciously. Headlined "Black Militant Ceremony—Killing of a Policeman," the fiction that followed claimed that murdering a cop was an initiation rite for members of the "Underground Panthers."

Then, one day after Nixon's reelection, more than 20 federal, state, and city police raided the main Panther community center with a search warrant alleging Panther involvement in the killing of a policeman. The only tangible support for the warrant was a spent .45-caliber shell found on the premises of a former Panther center.

Eight Panthers were arrested. Police also confiscated an unloaded shotgun and "gunpowder for a bomb" (sufficient, as an expert later testified, "to blow up a shoe box"). DeVille and

Carter, who were among those arrested, were charged with conspiracy to commit a felony (as yet unspecified) and possession of a stolen shotgun.

Although no proof was given that the shotgun was stolen and no endangered shoe box was offered in evidence, DeVille and Carter were placed under \$20,000 and \$10,000 bail respectively. As to the search warrant, the judge refused to read it in court on the grounds that he "didn't want to read such a thing!"

It soon became evident that these charges would not stand the test of a mounting defense campaign, and it now appears that the case will be dropped. Carter stated, "The issue was clearly not the legal shotgun in our community center, but our politics. And our successful defense has been

due to the united front of progressive groups coming to our defense, not legal technicalities."

Having apparently staved off one attack the Panthers were again raided by the police on Dec. 4. This latest raid has all the earmarks of a classic dope plant, with police simply walking to the back of a Panther center and announcing the "find" of a grocery bag containing one pound of marijuana.

No determination has been made as to the latest charges, but Carter pointed to the strategy behind them. "They want to vilify us as cop killers and dope pushers in the community, then, when they feel we are isolated, victimize. These continued attacks call for a united defense by all supporters of civil liberties."



Tutoring at Atlanta Black Panther Party headquarters

Great Speckled Bird/Tim Hayes



## An epic poem by Corky Gonzales

# I am Joaquín/Yo soy Joaquín

In its westward drive for expansion, U.S. capitalism found it necessary to conquer and subjugate the Indian-Spanish *mestizos* who inhabited what is now the Southwest. Military conquest and legal robbery were the main methods used.

But equally important perhaps is the cultural genocide that *mexicanos* have suffered for more than 100 years. Their scientific and technological achievements were appropriated, their art and music denigrated, and their history distorted or even completely suppressed.

The gringo invaders have sought to destroy the very identity of *mexicanos*—make them forget who they are, where they came from, and how they got to their present plight.

This epic poem *I am Joaquín/Yo soy Joaquín* by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales seeks to reassert that mutilated identity.

Its publication by Bantam Books, one of the world's largest paperback publishers, is a significant event for the Chicano liberation movement. This edition includes the complete text in Spanish and English, an introduction by Gonzales, a chronology of Mexican and Chicano history, and some notes.

More than 50 photographs—some of them excellent—roughly illustrate the ideas presented throughout the poem. Included are photos of demonstrations, details from paintings of Mexican history by Diego Rivera and others, and portraits of ordinary people in everyday life in the barrios of Aztlán. The pictures are an essay in themselves.

According to the notes, more than



Jose Clemente Orozco

'I have been the bloody revolution . . .'

100,000 copies of the poem have been distributed by the Crusade for Justice since that organization produced its first edition in 1967. Chicano newspapers, student groups, farm workers, teachers, and social workers have reproduced and distributed it. It has been performed by numerous Chicano teatro groups.

A filmed dramatic reading of the poem with music and still photographs has been produced by Teatro Campesino. It has been used in many schools and is required in many Chicano studies programs.

In other words, a capitalist publisher has finally figured out that a sub-



La Raza

stantial market exists for this poem and its nationalist ideas.

Joaquín is the personification of the Chicano people past and present. The first section of *I am Joaquín* is a self-analysis of what it means to be a Chicano "caught up in the whirl of a gringo society" today. Joaquín feels a basic conflict: you can either be proud of what you are and go hungry ("a victory of the spirit"); or you can sell your soul, accept Anglo culture, and achieve material success. Joaquín prefers to:

"withdraw to the safety within the circle of life—  
MY OWN PEOPLE."

In the second section Joaquín identifies with the history of his people, beginning with the Spanish conquest and the resistance of the Indians led by the Aztec prince Cuauhtémoc. The blood of both conqueror and conquered flows in the veins of Chicanos today. The essence of being *mestizo* is a paradox. This is a theme that recurs through the poem.

The Aztecs themselves played a paradoxical social role. They were both "tyrant and slave" and tyrannized other less-advanced Indian peoples. When the tiny group of Spaniards first arrived they were able to rally the support of these oppressed Indians to defeat and enslave the Aztecs.

The Spanish missionaries that followed the *conquistadores* were sent to give ideological reinforcement to the suppression of the Indians. But even this had its contradictory nature. Some began to actually believe the words they were preaching about the equality of all human beings in the sight of God. Some led new revolts, the most notable being Miguel Hidalgo. By 1821:

"The crown was gone  
but  
all its parasites remained  
and ruled  
and taught  
with gun and flame and mystic power."

A new upsurge, led by Benito Juárez, the "giant little Zapotec," resulted in a constitutional government. However, the descendants of Juárez soon became parasites too, and this contradiction eventually led to the Mexican revolution of 1910-1920. Emiliano

Zapata and Pancho Villa led peasant struggles for *Tierra y libertad* (land and liberty). Joaquín was all of these people.

In the civil war of this period Joaquín was pitted against himself: "I have been the bloody revolution the victor, the vanquished, I have killed and been killed."

In the north of Mexico, where the gringos were taking over, *mexicanos* fought back desperately and died heroically: Joaquín Murrieta, El Negro Baca, the brothers Espinoza.



La Raza

'I must fight and win this struggle . . .'

Joaquín Murrieta was a Sonoran miner who worked in California. Gringo miners there raped and murdered his wife, drove him off his claim, and whipped him in public on a false charge of horse stealing.

He organized a large band of armed *mexicanos* who had been similarly treated to attempt to regain some of what had been stolen from them. (In U.S. history books you will find this under "Mexican bandits.")

Murrieta became a legendary figure, and huge rewards were offered for his capture, dead or alive. Because his last name was not well known, California became unsafe for anyone named Joaquín.

If we can assume that the Joaquín of the poem was inspired by Joaquín Murrieta, is this not a perfect image of what it means to be a Chicano?

You, the victim of a white racist society are made into the criminal. All Chicanos are Joaquín.

As Joaquín returns to the present, images of present-day Chicanos flash through his mind:

"I am the campesino

I am the fat political coyote . . .  
. . . I bleed in some smelly cell  
from club  
or gun  
or tyranny."

The image of a boxer, fighting his way to the top, a soldier dying in the white man's war, a victim of the court system, a farm worker, a welfare recipient—all these too are Joaquín.

The final section is a call to action. It begins:

"And now the trumpet sounds,  
the music of the people stirs the  
revolution.  
Like a sleeping giant it slowly  
rears its head"  
and ends with the words:  
"I SHALL ENDURE!  
I WILL ENDURE!"

*I am Joaquín* is simple and straightforward. Written in free verse, it is sometimes even conversational in tone. Images are easily comprehended, the language is not pedantic or scholarly. It is the ideas of *I am Joaquín* that have ensured its wide interest and circulation.

The very idea that Chicanos are a unique people—not Spanish, not Mexican, not Indian, but rather a mixture, *mestizos*—has largely been popularized by this poem and its author.

Writing in the first person is not an empty rhetorical device to interest the reader. The poem is in the fullest sense written from the point of view of Chicanos—from the point of view of the oppressed.

*I Am Joaquín* is also important as a personal statement by its author. It is the work of a poet who is at the same time a revolutionary. Gonzales is Joaquín.

He is one of the few Chicanos who could have "made it" in the white man's world. Born into a working-class family, he became a National AAU boxing champion and a top professional boxer.

He was a successful small businessman—owner of a bar and a bail bond operation. He later became the first Chicano statewide official of the Colorado Democratic Party. If he had played the game according to the rules, he might have been Chicano window-dressing on Capitol Hill by now.

Instead he chose the revolutionary path. He broke with the Democratic Party and helped found the Crusade for Justice and the Raza Unida Party in Colorado.

As Gonzales put it in his introduction, "There is no inspiration without identifiable images, there is no conscience without the sharp knife of truthful exposure, and ultimately, there are no revolutions without poets."

—MIGUEL PENDAS



Corky Gonzales

Militant/Dave Warren

## The case of Los Tres del Barrio

# L.A. Chicano activists appeal for new trial

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Renewed efforts to obtain a new trial for Los Tres del Barrio are under way here. Rodolfo "Rudy" Sánchez, Alberto "Beto" Ortiz, and Juan Fernández were convicted in November 1971 of shooting and robbing a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer.

The three Chicano activists were sentenced to 40, 25, and 10 years. They are now doing time in federal penitentiaries: Sánchez in Atlanta, Ortiz in Lompoc, Calif., and Fernández in Leavenworth, Kansas.

Angeles barrios who decided to work in the community against the dope pushers.

They counseled Chicano youth against drugs, explaining the physical effects as well as trying to instill a "Chicano awareness" concerning drugs. They explained that drugs are part of an economic and political system designed to keep Chicanos down and are inconsistent with the movement.

For its antidrug efforts Casa Carnalismo has faced constant harassment from police agencies, especially

wasn't a dealer, but the federal agent kept insisting. Unaware of Canales's true identity and believing that he was a heroin dealer, the three reconsidered and decided to go ahead with meeting Canales. They planned to educate him to the fact that dope pushers would not be tolerated in the community.

When they finally met Canales the night of July 22, 1971, he told them he was strictly a dealer and not a user. In the eyes of Los Tres his actions were all the more vicious as they could not be excused as could someone who deals because they are in need of a fix.

For this reason it was decided on the spot to teach Canales a lesson by ordering him to drop his money and never to return to the Chicano community as a dope dealer. They explained why they were doing it. Canales pretended to be taking out the money but instead went for his gun. He was too slow and got shot instead. He is partially paralyzed from his wounds.

Sánchez, Ortiz, and Fernández left him, and still not realizing Canales was an agent, went home where they were arrested half an hour later.

Los Tres went into federal court here Oct. 19, 1971, on charges of robbery, assault, and battery of a lawful custodian of federal monies, and conspiracy to commit assault and battery on a federal officer.

In the course of the trial, two ex-dealers testified that Los Tres had sought to educate them as to the evils of dope and had offered them drug counseling. Canales himself testified that he had posed as a dealer and that that was what they thought he was. And Los Tres testified concerning their anti-drug-dealer activities, saying that the police, far from stopping drug traffic in the barrios, are deeply involved in it.

Based on this testimony, the defense hoped to show that since the three were unaware that they were dealing with a federal agent they could not possibly be charged with conspiracy to assault one. Likewise, they hoped to have the charges dropped since the shooting was obviously the result of police entrapment.

But the court would have none of this. Even a motion to move the case to state court, where they would be tried on lesser charges of simple assault and battery (not having prior

knowledge that Canales was a federal agent), was denied.

An appeal was filed Nov. 3 along those same lines. The appeal also charges the prosecution with misconduct.

Throughout the trial the prosecutor made a series of wild, totally unsubstantiated accusations (which he did not even try to prove) designed to prejudice the jury against Los Tres.

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) has filed a friend-of-the-court brief on the question of prior knowledge.

If the appeal is successful, the trial decision would be reversed and the three could not be retried in federal court. If California authorities decided to take them to court, the defense would once again try to show that Los Tres were trying to stop the real criminals in the Chicano community—the dope pushers.

The appeal also asks for a reduction in bail, which now stands at \$50,000 each. The defense is in need of funds, and anyone wishing to make a donation or to seek further information should contact: Committee to Free Los Tres, P.O. Box 33511, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033.



Drawing from poster put out by Committee to Free Los Tres

Antonio Rodriguez, the attorney presently preparing the appeal for the three, provided *The Militant* with an account of how Los Tres were entrapped.

Sánchez, Ortiz, and Fernández were activists at Casa Carnalismo, a Chicano organization seeking to drive dope pushers out of East Los Angeles.

Rudy Sánchez came here from Mexico as a young boy. He became involved in a Chicano gang, Barrio Nuevo, became addicted to hard drugs, and did time for robberies to support his habit. Seeing this as a dead end, he turned his back on his former life and decided to help end the drug traffic in the barrio.

Juan Fernández (once hooked on barbiturates himself) and Beto Ortiz were also products of the East Los

from the Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department and the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division (ATF) of the U.S. Treasury Department. One ATF agent, Eustacio (Frank) Martínez, surfaced in the organization, and Carnalismo headquarters have been raided more than once.

It is not entirely clear how the maze of police agents and informers developed the plan to entrap Sánchez. However, it seems possible that an informer by the name of Robert Middleton, who was in jail with Sánchez at one time, told ATF agent Robert Canales that Sánchez was a dope dealer.

Canales then contacted Sánchez and told him he was interested in buying three "pieces" of heroin (about \$1000-worth). Sánchez told Canales he



Militant/Harry Ring

## Chicano conference in Imperial Valley of Calif.

By MARIO T. GARCIA

BRAWLEY, Calif. — The first Chicano conference in the Imperial Valley of California was held in this city on Dec. 2. Three hundred and fifty people attended.

The Imperial Valley, situated along the California-Mexico border, is one of the richest areas in California. But most of the wealth is concentrated in the hands of large agricultural corporations and *rancheros* (large farmers).

The majority of the people face a more difficult existence. Fifty percent of the population of the Imperial Valley are Chicanos, most of whom work in the fields or for businesses related to farm work, such as transportation, packing sheds, etc.

The major products of the Imperial Valley are lettuce, melons, cantaloupes, and cattle, but many other crops are also grown in this rich and diversified valley. The major agribusiness corporations are the Irving Com-

pany (cotton and sugar beets), Fresh Pic, Interharvest, and De Maggio. These corporations, in turn, are subsidiaries of the Purex Corporation, Dow Chemical Company, and the Bank of America.

U.S. census figures for 1970 reveal that poor people in the Imperial Valley received \$7.8-million in public welfare that year, while agribusiness received \$8.1-million in state government subsidies. This figure does not include federal subsidies.

Not only does agribusiness dominate the economy of the valley, but also the politics of the area. Chicanos have very little political representation. Agribusiness also controls education. Every member of the Imperial Valley College governing board is a *ranchero*. Although Chicanos make up 36 percent of the student body, no Chicano sits on the board. Local school boards are likewise dominated by *rancheros*.

The United Farm Workers Union

has acquired contracts with some of the agricultural corporations, Interharvest, for example. But union contracts still remain to be won for most farm workers.

The day-long conference of political speeches and cultural presentations was intended to bring together Chicano students and other members of the community in an effort to organize against these oppressive conditions. The conference was organized by the Comité del Barrio, an organization of Chicano students at California State University in San Diego, and Chicano students from the Imperial Valley.

This writer was asked by the conference organizers to talk about the Raza Unida Party movement. Participants at the conference responded well when I stressed the importance of Chicanos organizing independently of the Democratic and Republican parties, which are responsible for the oppressive conditions that exist in the Imperial Valley, as well as the rest of Aztán.

The noted Chicano poet Alurista also spoke. He called upon Chicanos to organize independently around the Raza Unida parties, and also said that Chicanos must unite with the oppressed people of Latin American to combat and defeat "Yankee" imperialism.

Other speakers included a representative from MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán) at Imperial Valley College, a representative from the United Farm Workers Union, and a member of a Chicana group at Imperial Valley College. Cultural entertainment was provided by the Teatro Mestizo from California State University in San Diego.

The organizers of the conference expressed delight at the turnout for this initial Chicano conference in the heartland of California agribusiness. They emphasized that follow-up action in the form of another conference in the spring would be planned.



# An independence supporter's view

## Puerto Rico's struggle against

By PETER SEIDMAN

On Dec. 27, Melvin Laird, secretary of defense, declared that the Puerto Rican island of Culebra would be retained as a target field for U.S. air and naval bombing practice through at least 1985. This announcement reversed an earlier government promise to end use of the range by June 1975.

This situation serves to expose the relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico. Despite U.S. government claims to the contrary, Puerto Rico is a U.S. colony. How this relationship developed is the subject of *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation* (Vintage Books, \$2.45). This book presents an outline history and analysis of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for independence. It can help restore the truth about that struggle for the new generation of Puerto Rican militants seeking to continue that fight today.

Manuel Maldonado-Denis, the author, is a Visiting Professor of Puerto Rican Studies at Queens College in New York City. Although written in 1968, his book has appeared in English for the first time in this up-dated edition. *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation* is one of the few English-language books by a Puerto Rican supporter of the *independentista* movement. The story it tells therefore is of great importance to all those who wish to understand and support the Puerto Rican struggle against U.S. imperialist rule.

Christopher Columbus brought the flag of Spanish conquest to the island of Borinquén, as it was called by its original inhabitants, on Nov. 19, 1493.

Puerto Rican society was ruled with an iron hand by the Spanish colonial governor. However, an elite layer of the Creole population (the racial mixture of Taino Indians, Black slaves, and Europeans that populated the island after the Spanish conquest) developed a loyalty to Spain based on their privileges under Spanish rule.

This layer expressed itself politically through the autonomist movement, which sought greater self-government for Puerto Rico within the framework of subservience to Spanish rule.

Among the oppressed masses of the island and a layer of its radical intelligentsia, however, there developed the original movement for independence of Puerto Rico.

The most representative figure of this movement was Dr. Ramón Emeterio Betances, whose tireless organizing against Spanish rule led to his expulsion from Puerto Rico by the colonial governor in July 1867.

While colonial authorities prevented Betances from directly participating, it was his driving spirit that underlay the Lares insurrection of Sept. 23, 1868, known as the Grito de Lares (Cry of Lares). The fighters of Lares established the short-lived Revolutionary Committee of Puerto Rico, which sought to establish the government of an independent Republic of Puerto Rico.

Though soon defeated by Spanish troops, the Grito de Lares became a rallying cry for *independentistas* ever since.

In contrast to the heroic and principled efforts of revolutionary democrats like Dr. Betances stood the conciliatory and slavish efforts of the autonomists, led by Luis Muñoz Rivera. In the wake of insurrection in Cuba and a growing threat from the United States, Spain finally agreed to establish an autonomous Puerto Rico in Nov. 1897. The Spanish viewed this move solely as a maneuver that might

permit them to retain control of Puerto Rico when they had few resources available to maintain their empire any other way.

### U.S. conquest

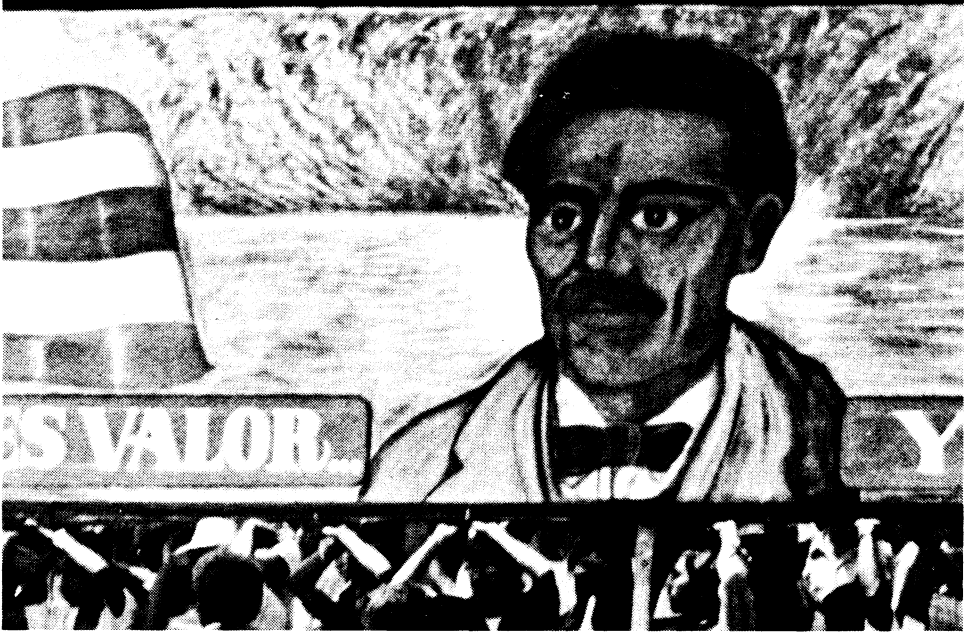
In May 1898 the colonial governor suspended the Rivera autonomous government of Puerto Rico after the bombardment of San Juan Bay by U.S. Admiral Sampson. Without any popular support, and based only on a desire to extend its own privileges, the autonomist regime could stand up to neither the Spanish governor nor U.S. troops when they finally dis-

peralism in the twentieth century.

Puerto Rico served well U.S. needs for new markets and sources of raw materials as well as military outposts to defend them.

The Foraker Law of 1900, followed by the Jones Act of 1917, and backed up by U.S. military occupation of the island, provided the "legal" basis for U.S. exploitation of Puerto Rico.

These laws placed Puerto Rico totally in the hands of the U.S. Congress and set up a form of Puerto Rican government that gave all real power to U.S. presidential appointees.



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

San Juan, Sept. 12, 1971. Puerto Ricans demonstrate for independence outside U.S. governor's conference.

embarked at Guánica on July 25, 1898, to begin the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico, which has continued to this day.

Maldonado-Denis presents the Lares insurrection and the sorry role of the short-lived Rivera government as the two poles of Puerto Rican politics under the Spanish occupation. In the remainder of his book he shows the essential continuity in the independence struggle of both the compromising, autonomist approach—which he describes as seeking "freedom with a long chain"—and the revolutionary approach of the *independentistas* under Betances.

The U.S. conquest of Puerto Rico, along with Cuba and the Philippines, was one of the fruits of the Spanish-American war. Therefore, Puerto Rico was one of the first victims of the opening drive of North American im-

Under this arrangement, the U.S. proceeded to exploit Puerto Rico in a manner that surpassed the wildest hopes of the island's previous Spanish masters.

In 1899, Puerto Ricans owned 93 percent of the existing farms and estates in Puerto Rico. Under U.S. rule, however, North American sugar, tobacco, and fruit trusts began to ruthlessly concentrate Puerto Rican land in their own hands.

Maldonado-Denis quotes a study showing that by the 1930s, "60 per cent of the sugar production was controlled by four large absentee corporations, and the same could be said of tobacco (80 per cent), public services and banks (60 per cent), and maritime lines (100 per cent)."

American companies created a vast layer of agricultural proletarians by driving farmers off their lands. At the

mercy of the American growers, and faced with terrible unemployment, these workers labored for wages that in 1926 were as low as 75 cents a day in the cane fields, 50 cents a day in the coffee plantations, and 8 cents an hour in the fruit yards. In that year, the average income per family was between \$250 and \$275.

The Nationalist Party, formed in 1922, continued the revolutionary traditions of Betances by fighting against these conditions. Pedro Albizu Campos, who became its president in 1930, is one of the heroic figures of the Puerto Rican national independence struggle.

### Roosevelt's 'raw deal'

Franklin Delano Roosevelt revealed the real nature of the New Deal in his treatment of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party. As Maldonado-Denis puts it, "In fact, imperialism, the Achilles' heel of the liberals, was never so clearly vulnerable to attack as it was under Roosevelt."

After Colonel E. Frances Riggs, the colonial chief of police, was assassinated on Feb. 23, 1936, in reprisal for his role in the murder of four nationalists in the Massacre of Rio Piedras, FDR launched a vicious drive against the Nationalist Party and its supporters.

FDR's secretary of the interior, Harold Ickes, obtained indictments against Campos and other Nationalist Party leaders from a U.S. grand jury, which charged them with sedition and "conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence." A jury composed of ten North Americans and only two Puerto Ricans convicted Campos and his comrades to terms of up to 15 years in an Atlanta prison.

The legal persecution was coupled with further physical violence. On March 21, 1937, U.S.-sponsored police attacked a nationalist demonstration in Ponce killing and wounding many in the infamous Ponce Massacre.

FDR's drive to isolate and suppress the nationalists must be viewed in the context of his preparations for World War II. Just as within the U.S., where his administration persecuted antiwar militants and trade unionists (such as the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamster leaders) who opposed his war drive, Roosevelt wanted no opposition in his colonial possessions.

Roosevelt also collaborated with Luis Muñoz Marín to found the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) in 1938. This party, led by the son of Luis Muñoz Rivera, pledged to "defer" the struggle for independence until after essential improvements had been made in the economic conditions of Puerto Rico under U.S. tutelage.

The PPD ruled from the election of 1940 through 1968. It was as much an instrument of U.S. colonial rule in Puerto Rico as the rigged jury that jailed Pedro Albizu Campos.

The reign of the PPD ushered in a new stage in the U.S. domination of the island. Rexford Tugwell was the third Roosevelt-appointed colonial governor of the island, and the last U.S. governor. He presided over a new approach to the exploitation of Puerto Rico by U.S. capital, finally launched as Operation Bootstrap in 1948—a forerunner of such schemes as the Alliance for Progress.

Under Operation Bootstrap, the U.S., with the cooperation of Muñoz's PPD, sought to make it appear that it was industrializing Puerto Rico and granting independence to the island.



# U.S. colonialism

The exploitation of Puerto Rico, however, was in no way ended through these superficial changes. The increased industrialization brought no significant improvement to the life of the Puerto Rican people; the changes in legal relationship to the U.S. did not in any way end the imperialists' total domination of the island.

The factors encouraging industrialization are outlined by Maldonado-Denis: a decline in Puerto Rican agriculture that produced a vast increase in unemployment and a rise of an urban proletariat (as well as a vast migration to the U.S.), a series of tax exemptions that were a direct subsidy to foreign business investments, and a politically docile regime backed up by U.S. military resources.

This led to a situation where, for example, in 1967 a U.S. firm in Puerto Rico made an average profit of 24 percent. The *Wall Street Journal* described the benefits of investment in Puerto Rico as follows in 1966: "The alarming rate of unemployment, which is estimated at between 12 and 30 per cent, is helping to attract industries from the United States to Puerto Rico at what can be considered a record rate, given the labor shortage which affects our country. On the one hand, personal and property taxes, not to mention excise taxes and license payments, are suspended often for a period of up to seventeen years, depending on the company's product and on how much it helps the industrialization of the area. In addition, the Puerto Rican government grants generous subsidies for everything, from transportation to training."

These policies led to a constant drainage of wealth from Puerto Rico. In 1965, the net outflow from the island was \$212-million.

Profits like these provide the real guide to U.S. intentions for Puerto Rico. Independence for the island would mean an end to the terrible exploitation of the island, an end to the systematic pillage of this fifth-largest market for U.S. goods.

It is in this context that the U.S. decision to grant Commonwealth status to Puerto Rico must be understood. This was not a move designed to threaten U.S. imperialism. It was a move designed to disguise the functioning of that system.

It was President Truman who took the initiative to grant Commonwealth status to Puerto Rico. In 1950, the

U.S. Congress passed Public Law 600, which provided for a constitutional convention in Puerto Rico to draw up the laws of the new Commonwealth. However, just as with the earlier Foraker and Jones acts through which the U.S. ruled the island, the new constitution would have to be approved by the U.S. Congress.

*Independentistas* opposed the proposal for such a constitution and the "popular" referendum that was supposed to approve it before it was submitted for passage to the Yankee Congress. In Oct. and Nov. of 1950, a nationalist upsurge across the island was crushed by Governor Muñoz Marín, who with Tugwell's retirement had become the first Puerto Rican governor of the island in 1948. On Nov. 1, 1950, nationalists Oscar Collazo and Griselio Torresola made an attempt on the life of U.S. President Truman.

Marín launched a witch-hunt against the independence fighters. The victims of this drive included Pedro Albizu Campos, who was sentenced to 56 years in prison. In 1965, the leader of the Nationalist Party died in a U.S. prison.

After this witch-hunt, a plebiscite not surprisingly approved the new constitution and led to the formation of the Commonwealth in 1952. The *independentistas* refused to participate in this referendum.

Maldonado-Denis thus depicts the essential continuity of U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico, even though this rule has been cloaked in different guises to suit North American political necessity. He also points out the continuity of the revolutionary tradition in Puerto Rico. Particularly through the student movement, the fight for Puerto Rican independence has revived in the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s against the U.S. drafting of Puerto Rican youth for the hated war in Vietnam, the struggles against the U.S. Navy's bombing of the island of Culebra, and the struggles of Puerto Rican students for greater control over their universities.

The concluding portion of this book is perhaps the most valuable for today's radicals. In his epilogues, Maldonado-Denis provides a rich account of how the struggle against U.S. rule is unfolding. He gives information about some of the parties and organizations involved in these efforts. Finally, he supplies a brief essay on the Puerto Ricans who have been forced to emigrate to the U.S.

## Not socialist, not a party

# Social democrats hold nat'l convention

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK, Jan. 2—Social Democrats, USA, was the new name adopted by the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation (SP-DSF) at its convention here Dec. 29-31.

The name change was motivated by the desire of the majority of the organization to remove any idea that they were counterposing their own organization to the Democratic Party. Those favoring the change also argued that the term "socialist" had become "hopelessly identified in the public mind with the Communist world."

Michael Harrington, a former national chairman of the Socialist Party and the author of *The Other America* and *Socialism*, led a minority of about one-third of the delegates at the convention in opposing the name change.

Harrington charged that the majority of the party was intent on severing its links to socialist tradition and theory "in an attempt to become more acceptable to the American people and the American trade unions. . . ." He feared that the move could "result in our giving up our socialist content."

The division evidenced in the debate over the name was present throughout the convention. The main resolution warned against any lessening of anticommunist fervor, and condemned the "neo-isolationism" of those who favor total U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, troop cuts in Europe, and a slashed defense budget. It characterized the U.S. as the center of the world struggle for freedom and stressed the importance of maintaining a strong NATO alliance in Europe.

Written by Tom Kahn, executive assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany, the document also condemned the "McGovern take-over" of the Democratic Party. It supported the purge of the "New Politics forces" the right wing of the party has undertaken.

The grouping headed by Harrington shares the majority's disdain for the current radicalization and the independent movements associated with it. They criticized the majority resolution from the standpoint of support to McGovern and a more sophisticated brand of anticommunism.

The Harrington group urged unity between the Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy and the forces that backed McGovern and deplored some of the cruder pronouncements on foreign policy in the majority document. While disavowing any opposition to Meany, Harrington complained that the proposed program failed to mention the different currents within the labor bureaucracy.

Despite the fact that the convention met during the drastically escalated bombing of North Vietnam, neither Harrington's group nor the majority gave this issue a major part of their attention. A member of the Harrington group did propose a special resolution condemning the bombing. The resolution, however, was shunted to the final session of the convention on Dec. 31, and was eventually referred to the incoming national committee.

The majority reaffirmed its position that the war in Vietnam was due to North Vietnamese aggression and called for a negotiated settlement that would preserve the division of Vietnam.

Although the Social Democrats pride themselves on their commitment to democracy, their convention was hardly the best model in this regard. The main resolution was made available for the first time at 1:30 a.m. of

the day it was to be voted on. An appeal by the Harrington group that the adoption of a program be delayed to allow discussion on it was rejected.

Hugh Cleland, a professor at the State University of New York at Stony Brook, complained that there had been no organized discussion prior to the convention. Cleland charged that after being refused the use of the SP-DSF membership list to send out a mailing on their views, members of Harrington's caucus were told to submit material to an internal discussion bulletin, which was then not circulated until the convention.

The Social Democrats maintain that the merger last March of the Socialist Party and the Democratic Socialist Federation has put new life into their moribund organization. It would appear, however, that their public claim of 18,000 members is an exaggeration, since one speaker at the convention mentioned that each delegate there was representing seven people. (About 110 delegates were present.)

Total attendance at the convention was about 200. The majority of those present appeared to be in their thirties and forties, and about one-quarter were older. While this reporter was present, there were two Blacks in the convention hall.

If the merger with the DSF did little to revive the social democracy, it was one more sign of its evolution to the right. The DSF traces its lineage back to a split in the Socialist Party in 1936. At that time the Norman Thomas leadership of the SP, under the pressure of the massive radicalization then going on, began to adopt anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist rhetoric.

This caused a conflict with the party's right wing, which also opposed the SP's election campaigns on the grounds that they served as a barrier between it and the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. When Thomas called for an all-inclusive Socialist Party, one that would include revolutionaries, the right wing split, only to return 36 years later, its original fears set to rest.

The youth group of the former SP-DSF, the Young People's Socialist League, held its convention Dec. 26-28, immediately preceding that of the SP-DSF. Although in most countries the youth groups of social democratic parties tend to be to the left of their more thoroughly housebroken elders, such was not the case here.

About 75 people attended the YPSL convention. Not only did they adopt the same general program as that presented to the SP-DSF gathering, but they even outdid their mentors. A motion allowing the radical press to cover their convention was narrowly passed by the SP-DSF, while the YPSL, which allowed the capitalist press to cover its convention, barred reporters from *The Militant* and the *Daily World*.



Michael Harrington

Fred W. McDarrah



One expression of *The Militant's* opposition to the U.S.-backed suppression of the October 1950 Puerto Rican nationalist insurrection was this drawing by Laura Grey, which appeared in our Nov. 13, 1950 issue.

# In Review

## Film Mozambique

*A Luta Continua. Produced and narrated by Robert Van Lierop. Cinematography by Robert Fletcher.*

In 1971 the first African-Americans ever to venture into liberated areas in Mozambique were invited there by the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) to make this film. *A Luta Continua*, which means "the struggle continues," is a documentary of Frelimo's struggle for national liberation against Portuguese colonialism.

Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and the Cape Verde, São Tomé, and Príncipe Islands, constitute Portugal's African colonial empire. Portugal "claimed" these areas in Africa in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, primarily to obtain raw materials for industrial use and Africans for the growing slave trade.

Through still photos and narration, *A Luta Continua* recaptures these aspects of Mozambique's past. It also shows how fierce resistance from the native population kept Portugal from conquering the interior of Mozambique until 1918.

Today Portugal is encountering even stiffer opposition from the native inhabitants. Frelimo, the main revolutionary organization, is conducting a largely rural armed struggle against Portuguese control. So far it has succeeded in liberating more than one-quarter of the country. Out of the total population of 7.5 million people, one million live in the liberated sector under Frelimo administration.

The bulk of the 32-minute film shows the day-to-day activities of Mozambicans in the liberated areas. It explains how the guerrillas have set up schools, medical centers, and other institutions in order to maintain necessary social functioning while fighting the Portuguese invaders.

Education is one of the main priorities of Frelimo. Classrooms are built by students and teachers. The teachers live, work, and struggle in the bush with the students. And the students' task is to learn so they can teach others the same skills.

The film shows the role of women in the struggle. Van Lierop, who narrates it, points out that in 1967 the first group of women began full political and military training. Women

are shown fighting Portuguese soldiers and performing medical and other tasks not always thought of as women's chores.

The film illustrates very clearly which forces are allied with Portugal against the struggle of the Mozambicans. It shows how and why South Africa plays a major role in fighting against the liberation struggle. A liberated Mozambique would be a dangerous threat to South Africa and Rhodesia. Both of these white settler regimes have problems enough trying to maintain stable rule against Black African majorities in their respective states.

South Africa, moreover, has a chronic shortage of labor, and each year, with the consent of Portugal, takes more than 200,000 Mozambicans to work in its diamond and ore mines. Currently, South Africa and Rhodesia ship cargoes to Europe and other destinations through Mozambique's ports. This would be impossible in a liberated Mozambique.

Portugal, the poorest country in Western Europe, receives heavy military aid from its NATO allies, including the U.S. This aid is vitally necessary if it is to continue three wars in its "overseas provinces" of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

Portugal has been fighting these wars since 1961, and NATO supplies its ally with jeeps, armored vehicles, small arms, bombs, planes, napalm, and herbicides. However, fighting these colonial wars is still a tremendous financial drain on Portugal, which spends more than a million dollars a day to maintain them.

In December 1971, Nixon gave Portugal a \$436-million aid package in return for U.S. use of the Azores Islands for military purposes. The U.S. fully understands that it must keep Portugal well armed in its fight against the liberation struggles.

*A Luta Continua* does a fine job in portraying Frelimo's struggle to liberate Mozambique from Portuguese domination and it should be viewed by all who seek information about the situation there. The film can be rented, and those interested should contact: Robert Van Lierop, Africa Information Service, 112 W. 120 St., New York, N.Y. 10027.

—KARARI NKOMO



Afrique-Asie

## Pamphlets Feminism and Marxism

*Feminism and the Marxist Movement by Mary-Alice Waters. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. 43 pp. 60 cents.*

"The Marxist movement has always ignored the problem of women's liberation."

"Historically, Marxism hasn't recognized the oppression of women as a sex. It is only concerned with the oppression of women as workers."

Are these charges, frequently heard within the feminist movement today, based on facts?

The answer is no, says Mary-Alice Waters in this pamphlet, whose purpose is to "restore the true history of Marxism and women's liberation."

Waters is the editor of *The Militant*. The pamphlet is based on a talk she gave at the August 1972 Socialist Activists and Educational Conference, held in Oberlin, Ohio.

*Feminism and the Marxist Movement* does a particular service by delving into the history of revolutionary



Chen Pi-Lan, a leader in Chinese Communist and feminist movements in 1920's.

socialists in the United States. Many of the leading women fighters of the early part of this century—such as Mother Jones, Margaret Sanger, Helen Keller, and Kate Richards O'Hare—were members of the Socialist Party.

Waters includes a section on the debate within the American SP between the revolutionary and right wings over the question of the feminist movement. She quotes from an article in the 1914 *New Review*, a monthly SP magazine, where Louise W. Kneeland wrote:

"To the narrow-minded Socialist who says: 'Socialism is a working class movement for the freedom of the working class, with woman as woman we have nothing to do,' the far-sighted Feminist will reply: 'The Socialist movement is the only means whereby woman as woman can obtain real freedom. Therefore I must work for it.'"

Waters zeroes in on the charge that socialists in the U.S. did not support or work in the suffrage movement. The Socialist Party, she asserts, was active in fighting to win women's right to vote. It organized suffrage demonstrations, sometimes in its own name, and SP legislators introduced bills supporting the vote for women. In at least three states (New York, Nevada, and Kansas), she points out, the SP's work for suffrage was "probably decisive" in winning the vote.

The pamphlet also contains a rich



IWW organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

description of the role socialists played in the fight for women's liberation in other countries. This includes how the German Social Democrats helped organize women into trade unions in the nineteenth century; the establishment of International Women's Day (March 8) by the International Socialist Women's Congress of 1910; the attacks leveled against Alexandra Kolontai when the Soviet Union chose her as the world's first woman ambassador; and how revolutionary socialists led in the development of the Chinese feminist movement.

Throughout the history of the Marxist movement, Waters says, the struggle around women's demands has been an integral part of the fight for socialism.

For example, a 1913 "Morning Teach-In on the Woman Question," held in Petrograd by the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, was one of the actions that "laid the basis for the massive women's demonstration of March 8, 1917 . . . when the Petrograd women poured into the streets demanding 'Bread for our children,' and 'The return of our husbands from the trenches,'" Waters writes. "The Russian Revolution marked its beginnings from that day."



Mother Jones

An enormous amount of research remains to be done in reconstructing the true history of revolutionary socialists in the women's liberation struggle. *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* provides an inspiring beginning in this effort.

—CINDY JAQUITH



# THE LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE USSR: THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST 'TROTSKYISM'

The following is the sixth in a series of articles on the left opposition in the Soviet Union.

By DAVE FRANKEL

The passage of the revolutionary situation in Germany in the fall of 1923 without a struggle for power by the German Communist Party was a cruel blow to the Russian revolution. The isolation of the Soviet Union was accentuated, and the Soviet working class felt the defeat keenly.

Bukharin admitted at the thirteenth congress of the Bolshevik Party in May 1924 that the "psychological depression" stemming from the German defeat "had an extraordinary influence on our party ranks." The triumvirate's response to this disaster was to try to find a scapegoat while minimizing the extent of the defeat.

Although Zinoviev agreed that a revolutionary situation existed in Germany, he hesitated to support Trotsky in urging that an insurrection be prepared. As the president of the Communist International, he sanctioned the cancellation of the uprising.

Stalin never believed the situation in Germany was ripe for revolution.

role in converting the Comintern into a pliable instrument of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Furthermore, Trotsky saw no point in replacing Brandler when none of the other leaders of the German Communist Party had proved to be any better. The reality was that Stalin and Zinoviev were at least as guilty as Brandler.

What was required was a discussion that could draw the political lessons of the defeat in Germany and help to prevent its recurrence. Instead of such an analysis, the role of the Comintern leaders was whitewashed and the magnitude of the defeat discounted.

In January 1924 Zinoviev declared, "The Executive Committee of the Communist International must say to you that should similar events repeat themselves, we would do the very same thing in the very same situation."

"This promise," remarked Trotsky, "had the earmarks of a threat."

By April 1924 the Comintern leadership was able to refer to the historic defeat of the German revolution as "only an episode." And, by the time of the fifth congress of the Comintern in June 1924 Zinoviev blandly report-

experience of the Bolsheviks in 1917 if they expected to be prepared for revolutionary crises in their own countries.

The response to this article of less than 70 pages was furious. By turning to the historical record Trotsky had vindicated himself against all the slanders that had been heaped upon him, called into question the leadership of the triumvirate, and given his analysis of the German events and the policy of the Comintern.

Throughout the fall and winter of 1924 the campaign against "Trotskyism" reached a new crescendo. Articles in the newspapers, in theoretical magazines, and in internal party bulletins vied for attention with resolutions from local party organizations and speeches by party leaders. All denounced the evils of "Trotskyism"—a phenomenon that was invented, as Zinoviev later admitted, solely for the purposes of the factional struggle against Trotsky.

The campaign against Trotsky at the end of 1924 also marked the first time that history was systematically falsified to serve as a weapon in the factional struggle within the Bolshevik Party. Timidly at first, and then with growing brazenness, Trotsky's role in the revolution and in the civil war was belittled, distorted, and eventually almost eradicated.

But the campaign of the party apparatus centered on Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution. This theory simply stated that the capitalist system could no longer carry out the tasks originally accomplished during the capitalist revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries: land reform, the conquest of national independence for colonies and semicolonies, and the establishment of stable democratic regimes.

If the tasks associated with the rise of capitalism could only be carried out through the socialist revolution in the less-developed countries, then there was no basis for a capitalist stage to the revolutions in those countries. This was the theory, advanced by Trotsky in relation to Russia in 1906, that was proved correct in 1917.

This theory, which showed that it was necessary to make socialist revolutions in countries where industry remained only partially developed, also explained the necessity for the revolution to be completed on an international scale. Marxists had always seen the struggle for socialism as an international battle, and the construction of a socialist society was always seen in terms of the cooperation of advanced, industrialized countries. A backward agricultural country would be even more in need of collaboration with industrialized ones.

## Socialism in one country

Kamenev argued that "if Trotsky's theory had proved correct, then it would mean that the Soviet power had long ago ceased to exist. Ignoring the peasantry and not giving any consideration to the decisive question of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, this theory of 'permanent revolution' places the workers' government in Russia in exclusive and complete dependence on the immediate proletarian revolution in the West." Trotsky was portrayed as an adventurist intent on involving the Soviet Union in dangerous schemes to extend the revolution.



Trotsky vacationing in Sukhum, on the Black Sea. Trotsky was enroute there when he learned of Lenin's death. Stalin falsely wired that Trotsky would not be able to reach Moscow in time for the funeral and urged him to continue his trip.

But the triumvirate needed a positive alternative to answer Trotsky's analysis. Stalin enunciated such an alternative for the first time in December 1924—the theory of socialism in one country.

In essence, Stalin's theory was that socialism could be built in the USSR regardless of the course of the European revolution. Although he admitted the possibility of foreign intervention destroying this work, his theory served as a rationalization for subordinating the interests of the world revolution to the immediate needs of Soviet diplomacy.

The real debate was not simply between the theories being advanced, but between the policy of revolutionary internationalism advocated by Trotsky and the policy of narrow-minded nationalism represented by Stalin and the bureaucracy that stood behind him.

The bureaucrats concern with securing their own positions, the conservative outlook of the peasantry, the disappointment of the workers and the ranks of the party at the defeat of the German revolution—all these currents merged with the general exhaustion produced by years of superhuman effort.

Stalin's theory of national self-sufficiency grew in this soil. To many it seemed to promise a respite from the turmoil of world politics and the opportunity to concentrate on building a new society.

At first, however, Stalin's new theory passed almost unnoticed. It was only in the spring of 1925 that Bukharin elaborated it, and in April 1925 it was included in a resolution adopted at the fourteenth party conference. Although Zinoviev and Kamenev voted for the resolution, they hesitated to support the new theory and raised objections.

The fear that Trotsky would discredit them and assume the leadership of the party was the glue that held the triumvirate together. But now the left opposition had been largely isolated. Many hundreds of its supporters had been driven out of the party, and others had been transferred to isolated posts across the USSR. In January 1925 Trotsky himself had

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Lenin's funeral, Jan 27, 1924. Lenin died shortly after the defeat in Germany

When the majority of his colleagues came to the opposite conclusion, he went along. But at the end of July he wrote to Bukharin and Zinoviev that "if power in Germany were, so to speak, to fall to the street and the communists picked it up, it would end in failure and collapse." Stalin's tactical prescription was that "the Germans should be restrained and not spurred on."

Zinoviev was more interested in avoiding censure than in drawing the lessons of the German defeat. Heinrich Brandler, the head of the German Communists, was denounced as an opportunist, and Zinoviev called for removing him from his post.

Zinoviev also attempted to use the German defeat in the factional battle against Trotsky. Radek and Piatakov, both prominent oppositionists, had been in Germany as representatives of the Comintern and had supported Brandler's timid policy. Zinoviev made the most of this fact, along with Trotsky's opposition to the demotion of Brandler.

While he recognized Brandler's weaknesses, Trotsky believed that the different parties in the Comintern would have to develop their own leadership and learn from their own mistakes. If they failed to do this they would be worthless as revolutionary organizations. Thus, Trotsky opposed appointing leaders from Moscow, a practice that played such a large

ed, "We expected the German revolution but it did not come." He concluded that the Comintern had "overestimated" the situation.

## Lessons of October

Zinoviev, with the support of Stalin and Kamenev, was extending to the Comintern the practices the triumvirate used inside the Bolshevik Party. The needs of the revolutionary movement were subordinated to the needs of a narrow circle of leaders.

Meanwhile, the debate inside the Bolshevik Party had been officially ended and the left opposition branded as a "petty bourgeois deviation from Leninism." The triumvirs claimed to speak as the authentic voice of Bolshevism, in contrast to Trotsky, whom they branded as a semi-Menshevik.

In September 1924 Trotsky wrote a preface to a new volume of his speeches and articles from 1917. This essay, the "Lessons of October," demolished the myth of Trotsky's "Menshevism."

It recalled the opposition of Zinoviev and Kamenev to the October revolution, and it argued that the reason the German revolution had not occurred in 1923 was not because the Comintern had "overestimated" the situation, but because the German Communists had not been adequately prepared.

The parties of the Comintern, Trotsky wrote, had to assimilate the



# ...bombings

Continued from page 3

advanced aircraft for the defense of the people of Vietnam.

But Moscow and Peking continue to supply Hanoi with only the most minimal and largely obsolete military aid.

At the same time the two powerful workers states refuse to take part in helping to build a unified international antiwar movement. The protests of the last two weeks show more clearly than ever before the potential for building a world antiwar movement. There are few places on the earth where people are not bitterly angry at the deceitful and barbarous war policies of the Nixon administration.

These peoples could be welded into a mighty antiwar movement that could exert tremendous pressure on Washington, not simply to end the bombing north of the twentieth parallel, but to end all the bombing and get out of Southeast Asia. That remains the pressing task of all who oppose the war.

# ...world

Continued from page 5

issued a mild statement to the effect that the renewed bombings would have a detrimental effect on China's relations with the U.S.

The bureaucrats in Moscow leaked a report that Soviet Communist Party head Leonid Brezhnev would postpone his visit to the U.S. planned for the spring if the bombing was not halted. This was reported from Moscow by Victor Louis of the *London Evening News*, who is regarded as a mouthpiece for the Soviet bureaucrats.

By failing to come to the defense of the Vietnamese in any more than a routine fashion, the Kremlin and Peking rulers are telling Nixon—as they have many times in the past—that as far as they are concerned he is free to resume the bombing with impunity in the future.

A report from *The Times* of London, reprinted in the Dec. 30 *New York Times*, described the speech made by National Liberation Front Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh at a meeting in Peking Dec. 29. Em-

phasizing the importance of international support for the Vietnamese, Binh "recalled that millions of the Chinese people had taken to the streets in the past to demonstrate support for the Vietnamese Communists." The demonstration to receive Binh in Peking, however, was only 10,000. In her speech she stressed U.S. imperialism's fear of increased international support for the Vietnamese.

The recent outburst of international protest against the bombings and the diplomatic isolation of the U.S. war-makers were certainly a major factors in persuading Nixon to order a temporary halt to the bombing above the twentieth parallel in Vietnam. These protests demonstrated the potential power of international mass protests to stay the hand of the U.S. imperialists and the need to continue to organize such actions.

# ...scientists

Continued from page 5

the annual convention of the AAAS in Washington, D.C., held an antiwar rally during the convention. The rally made public a letter to Nixon signed by 250 antiwar scientists, including three Nobel laureates. It asks: "Can we scientists meet in Washington and ignore the fact that our national Administration is launching from this city the most massive air attacks in history?" It concludes, "We must speak out, as Americans, as scientists, against this outrageous misuse of the fruits of science for death and destruction."

Another professional meeting, the American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division, passed a resolution in Boston Dec. 27 charging Nixon with "carrying out a brutal and inhuman war against the Vietnamese people."

At still another professional convention, that of the Modern Language Association, several members conducted a silent protest against the bombing by standing with antiwar placards during a speech by a Nixon appointee.

On Dec. 31 the *New York Times* carried an ad paid for by 151 editorial employees of the reactionary *New York Daily News*, urging Nixon to make peace in Vietnam "without

further delay." The *Daily News* had refused to print the ad.

These widespread protests from such varied sectors of American society show the potential for substantial future antiwar actions.

# ...abortion

Continued from page 9

From the standpoint of the welfare and rights of women, also, adoption cannot be a substitute for the right to abortion. Abortion is a method of birth control; adoption is not. For many women the prospect of carrying a pregnancy to term and then giving up for adoption what has become a baby is a grievous torture. Women know that in this society children given up for adoption have a slim chance of receiving adequate care.

Added to this psychological suffering is the economic hardship pregnancy imposes on the majority of women. Medical costs mount when a woman is pregnant, while her earning capacity plummets. Pregnancy often means being fired from your job, and what employer will hire a pregnant woman? Perhaps the father will support you, perhaps not.

Family pressure often forces unwed pregnant women to leave town or hide their pregnancy in other ways. Poorer women are often driven to welfare. These considerations may not seem very pressing to Eunice Shriver, but for many women the problems of keeping a roof over their head and food on the table are a daily concern.

Unwanted pregnancy and childbirth can disrupt, and even irreparably damage, a woman's life. Among high school women, for example, pregnancy is a major cause of expulsions and dropouts.

It is utter slander to say that women who choose to have abortions do not "believe in life," as Shriver would have us believe. It is precisely a concern for real, living people—their own lives and the fate of their children—that motivates many women to seek abortions.

The right to abortion means enhancing women's control over their reproductive lives. That control means the freedom to make conscious decisions affecting the quality of their lives and

of the lives of the people they live with. It means a reduction in the unnecessary misery women and unwanted children face in this society.

# ...sign now

Continued from page 10

nam with total destruction if an accord to Nixon's liking is not reached. The same threat remains in force if, under the terms of an accord, the situation should develop adversely for the Saigon regime.

Nixon has made "one thing perfectly clear"—the U.S. does not intend to withdraw from Vietnam, under the "nine points" or any other accord.

Nixon intends to insist on the maintenance of the Saigon regime, with or without particular figures like Thieu. The U.S. will back up that regime with massive military assistance, and will continue to intervene directly if that regime is threatened. It wants language in the accord that will give it "legal" cover to do so.

Thus "Nixon's latest moves" do not confirm the correctness of the "Sign Now" position, as the *Guardian* asserts, but highlight the dangers of that position. Support of the nine points disarms the antiwar movement by failing to mobilize opposition to Washington's real aims, which, with or without an accord, remain to impose its will on Vietnam through force and the threat of force.

# ...opposition

Continued from page 21

been forced to resign from his positions as president of the Revolutionary Military Council and as commissar of war.

As a result of the isolation of the opposition, the year 1925 saw a relative lull in the struggle within the party and the development of a rift within the triumvirate. At issue were precisely those questions raised by the left opposition—the danger in relying on the rich peasants in the countryside, and the need for an internationalist perspective as opposed to the theory of socialism in one country. These developments will be discussed in the next article.

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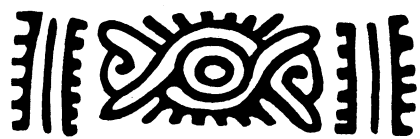
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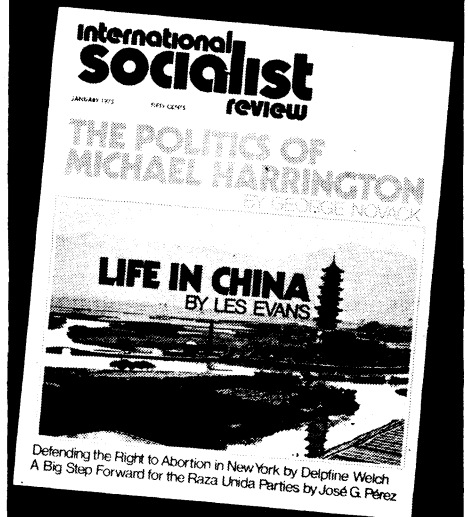


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We are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, Native American, and white. We are feminists, young workers, GIs, gays, antiwar organizers and campus and high school leaders.

We are united in one organization because we have a common enemy—capitalism—and a common goal—socialism. We think that the only way to end war, poverty, alienation, and oppression is to establish a socialist society with a planned economy that can translate the world's resources and technology into a decent life for every single human being.

We think that working people—the class that produces the world's wealth—have the power to change society.

We are internationalists. We are on the side of the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, the Irish, the Cubans, the Angolans, and all oppressed people who are fighting for their liberation.

We are on the side of the people of China, the

Soviet Union, and the Eastern European countries in their struggle for socialist democracy against the privileged ruling bureaucrats.

We believe that only the action of masses of people can bring about fundamental social change, and we are helping to mobilize this power to win the demands of the antiwar, women's liberation, Black, Chicano and other independent movements.

We are part of the international student movement, which has demonstrated through such actions as the May, 1968, French revolt and the May, 1970, Cambodia-Kent upsurge in the U.S., that it is a powerful and inspiring ally in the struggles of working people and the oppressed.

We oppose the Democratic and Republican parties—the parties of the capitalist class—and we stand for building independent alternatives to them, such as a Black party, a Chicano party, and a labor party.

We are part of a movement of young socialists on every continent who share our goals and political beliefs.

We think the world can be changed. If you think so too, join us. Join the YSA.

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# THE MILITANT

## Black sailor convicted in Kitty Hawk case

By **LESLIE DORK**

SAN DIEGO, Jan. 2—The first court-martial of a Black sailor from the USS *Kitty Hawk* on charges stemming from an incident last Oct. 12 ended today. Hiram Davis, 20, of Los Angeles was acquitted of one charge each of riot and assault and convicted on the charge of unlawful apprehension.

The conviction rested solely on the testimony of one witness, Larry Gibson, a white sailor aboard the *Kitty Hawk* who claims he saw Davis repeatedly strike Douglas Recker in the face while another sailor held him against a bunk.

Twenty Black sailors still face court-martial on charges of rioting and assault. No charges were leveled against white sailors.

Davis's civilian attorney, Alex Langdon, from the American Civil Liberties Union, based his defense on Gibson's testimony. Recker, the alleged victim, claimed he did not know whether he had been hit at all during the incident. Davis testified that "Recker was hysterical. I just said to him to 'keep cool,' everything was going to be all right."

It was obvious to observers in the courtroom that the military judge, Captain Bryant, was going out of his way to assist the prosecution. He refused a defense motion that the charges be dropped because Davis had been denied a speedy trial, even though the defense proved that a Christmas

party had been held in the courtroom the day Davis was scheduled to go to trial.

Captain Bryant also granted the government a delay because one of their witnesses had been "mistakenly" granted liberty, even though ample time was allowed for the government to have its witnesses present.

Davis's conviction is consistent with the Navy's racist practices. Although the unlawful apprehension charge was leveled only a couple of weeks ago, he was restrained on board the *Kitty Hawk* from Oct. 17 to Nov. 7. He was confined in the brig from Nov. 7 to Dec. 6 and restrained on the base until Dec. 20.

During this time he was deprived of his flight pay, which comes to about \$65 a month. His conviction means demotion in rank and a cut in pay. In addition, he would have been up for promotion soon, but it will now be very difficult for him to get one with a federal conviction on his record.

A spokesman for the Black Serviceman's Caucus, a group organized in San Diego to combat racism in the Navy, stated, "This is an example of institutional racism. The Navy wouldn't be racist if the government wasn't. Davis was clearly innocent. They want to make him an example for the other ones coming up."

At a press conference called by the Black Serviceman's Caucus Dec. 27, three of the sailors charged with riot

and assault, James Allen, Alfonzo Hudson, and Perry Mason, gave some examples of what Blacks have to live with in the Navy.

Black sailors are usually assigned to work in "the hole." During bad weather, whites are the first to receive orders to don weatherproof gear. On one occasion, a Black sailor on the flight deck was never given the order and remained soaked and dripping at his post.

Blacks are never allowed to congregate in groups of more than two or three. Allen said that if even four Black sailors attempted to eat together, the chief petty officer forced one to move. More than three Blacks would not be berthed together, and there is an on-ship rule that forbids visiting among berths. This prevents Blacks from meeting and being with each other.

When asked by reporters how they felt about the Navy, Allen replied, "You get more hardship in the Navy than on the streets. You're called 'boy' and 'dog'."

"Everything but the name your mother gave you," Mason stated. "The Navy's a backstabbing organization. . . . I had to join the Navy to get a police record." He added, "We don't believe in one brother being put down by anyone. We stand up and voice our opinion. It's time for the world to know what all brothers and sisters want."



Kitty Hawk sailor gives Black power salute

## Detroit police beat Black Christian Nationalists

By **RONALD LOCKETT**

DETROIT—On Dec. 17 at approximately 1:45 a.m., 12 members of the Shrine of the Black Madonna of the Black Christian Nationalist Church of Detroit were returning home from an African-style wedding in several cars.

The group included three Black ministers, two of their wives, two radio disc jockeys, and members of a church youth group.

The church members, dressed in African garb, were stopped by an unmarked police car. A uniformed police officer issued one of the drivers, Masa Karega Kenyatta, a traffic citation. When Kenyatta inquired about the reason for the citation, police slammed him against the patrol car, clubbed him in the face, and stomped on him.

Other church members witnessing the beating of Kenyatta were not permitted to assist him and were warned

to stay put or be killed by pistol- and shotgun-wielding officers. Police apparently panicked and sent an "officer in distress" call. Police cars soon flooded the area.

For attempting to aid Kenyatta, the church members were clubbed on the head, kicked in the ribs, groin, back, and stomach, cursed, and threatened with death.

One of the most seriously injured was WCHB Radio disc jockey Masa Karega Kenyatta (Fred Goree). Kenyatta, who was hospitalized, suffered a fractured nose, lacerations on the forehead, and numerous bruises on different parts of his body. One minister was quoted as saying, "I never thought we would get away from there alive."

Eleven of the 12 church members were arrested and taken to a local precinct jail. Nine were charged with resisting arrest. Both disc jockeys—Kenyatta and Thomas Smith—were

charged with assault and battery. When brought to Detroit Recorder's Court later that morning, the felony charges against the nine persons were dropped, and the two persons charged with assaulting a police officer were released on bonds of \$1,000 each.

The Guardians—a Black Detroit police officers organization—condemned the unprovoked attack and depicted it as retaliation against the Black community for an incident involving the wounding of four white police officers more than a week ago.

The incident was not reported in the white media but received excellent coverage in the Black media.

Members of Black Christian Nationalism plan to take action about the matter. For further information contact: Reverend A. Gil Sherman, National Public Relations Director, 13535 Livernois Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48238. Telephone: (313) 491-0777 or 875-9700.

## Report shows women's wage gap still exists

By **CINDY JAQUITH**

DEC. 30—The gap between the incomes of male and female workers widened in 1970, reports the head of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau.

In a speech to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) this week, Elizabeth Duncan Koontz said that in 1970, women working full time earned 57 percent of what men made. In 1955, by contrast, women were taking home 64 percent of the pay earned by men.

In recent years, the income gap has fluctuated. Women received 58.2 percent of men's incomes in 1968 and 60.5 percent in 1969.

The complete statistics for 1971 and 1972 are not yet available. However, Koontz did report that in 1971 men who had finished only eight years of schooling were earning more than women with as much as three years of college.

Koontz told the AAAS meeting that "only 7 per cent of the fully employed women but 40 per cent of the men earned \$10,000 or more in 1970." At the other end of the income scale, she said, 45 percent of women working full time took home less than \$5,000, while only 14 percent of the male workers fell in this category.

Koontz cited the following figures for the median annual income of full

time workers in 1970: white males, \$9,373; males from oppressed nationalities, \$6,598; white women, \$5,490; and women from oppressed nationalities, \$4,674.

Thus Black, Chicana, Puerto Rican, Asian-American, and Native American women suffer the most from the lack of equal pay on the job. They receive less than 50 percent of the wages white male workers earn.

Koontz also reported that less than 10 percent of the nation's doctors, scientists, dentists, lawyers, and engineers are female, while 90 percent of the nurses, dieticians, elementary school teachers, and librarians are women.